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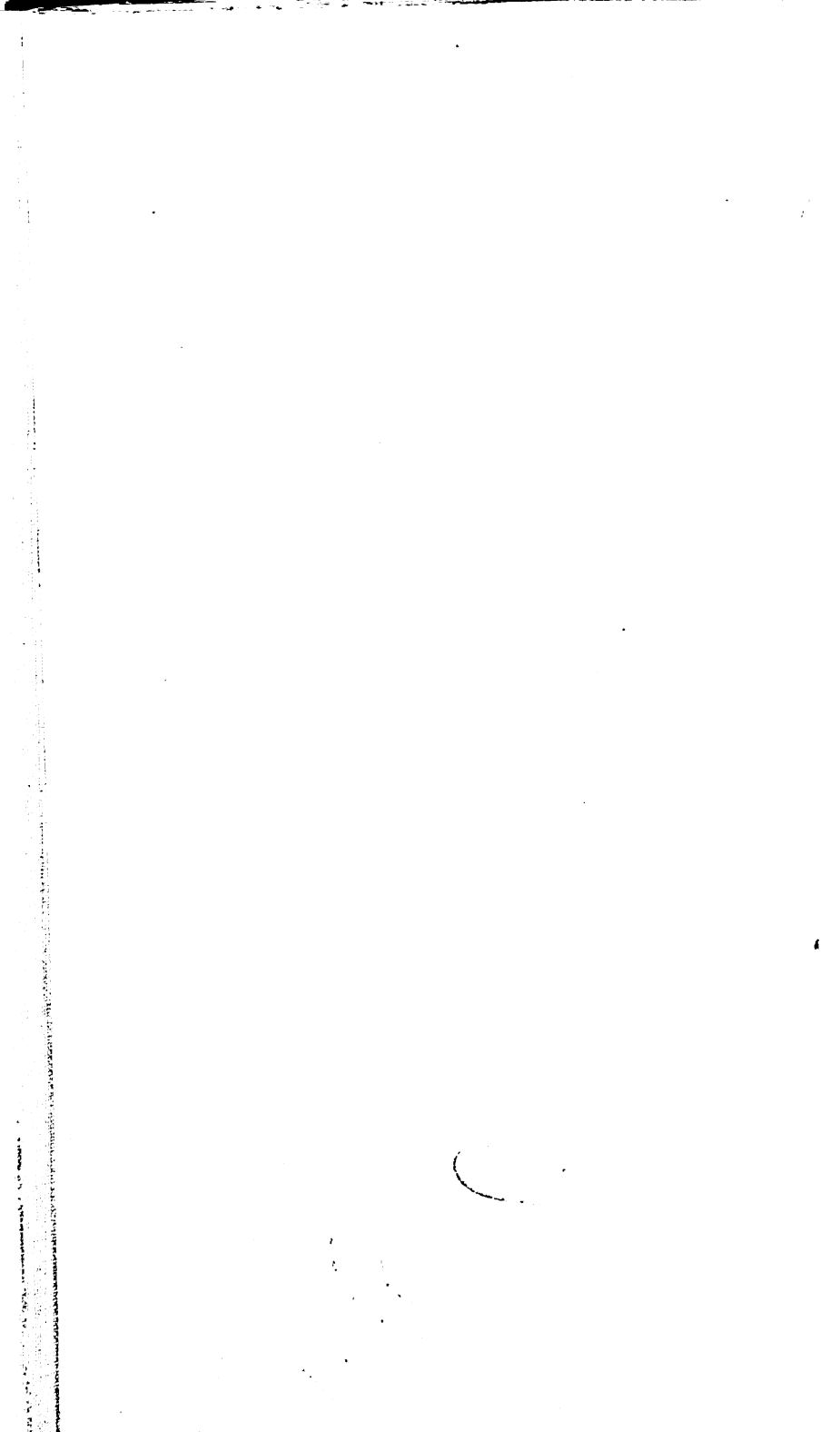
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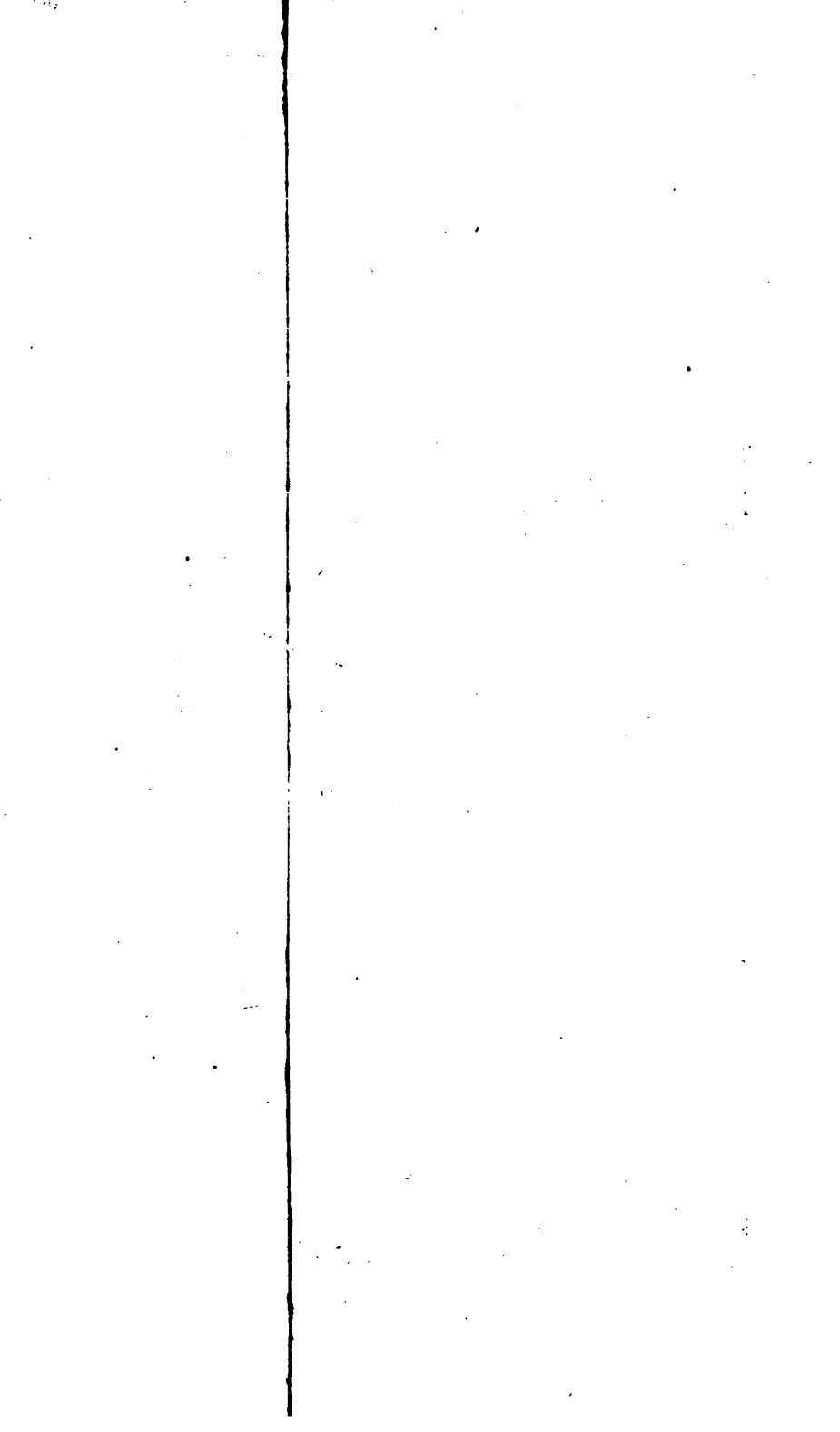


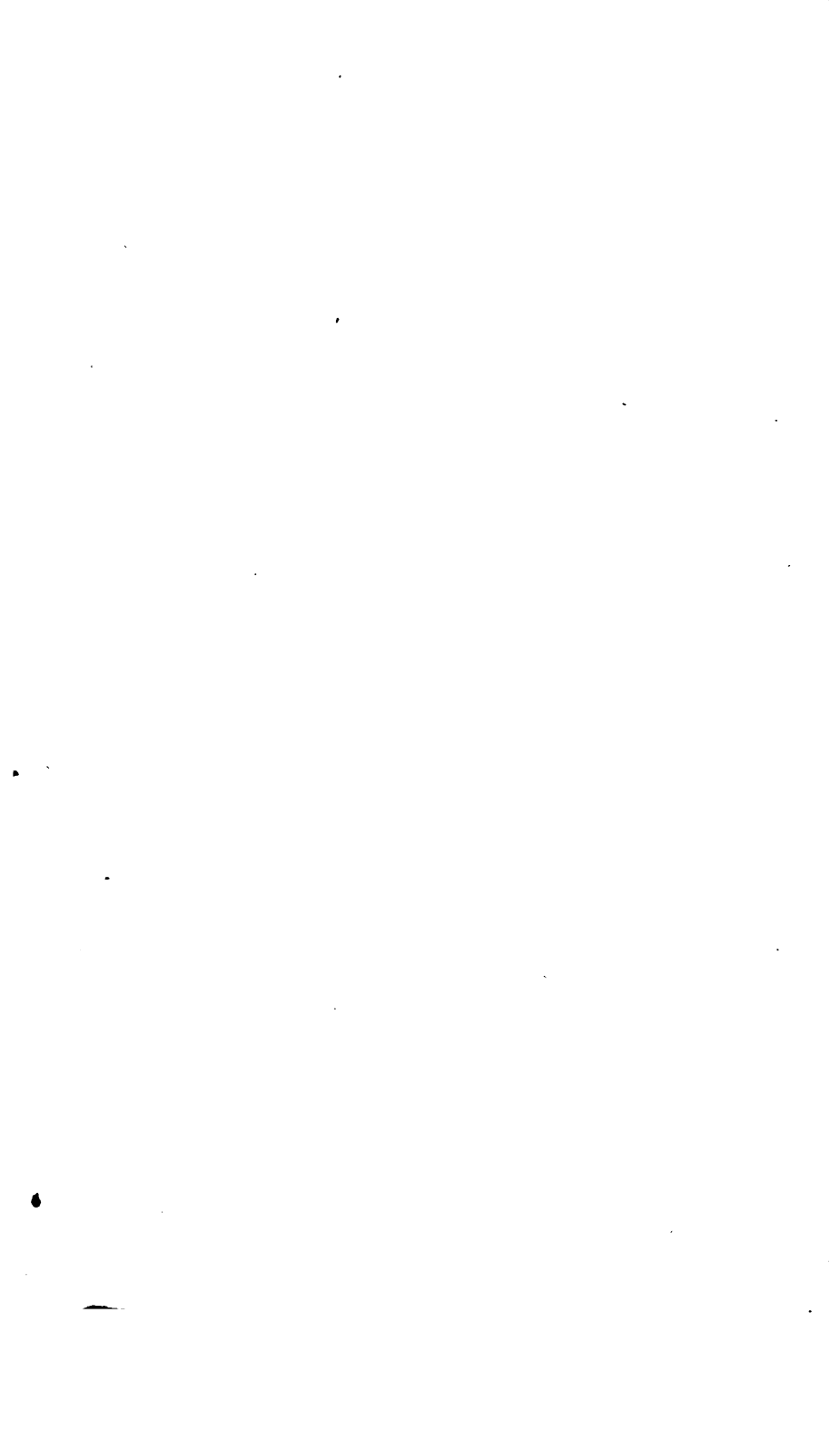


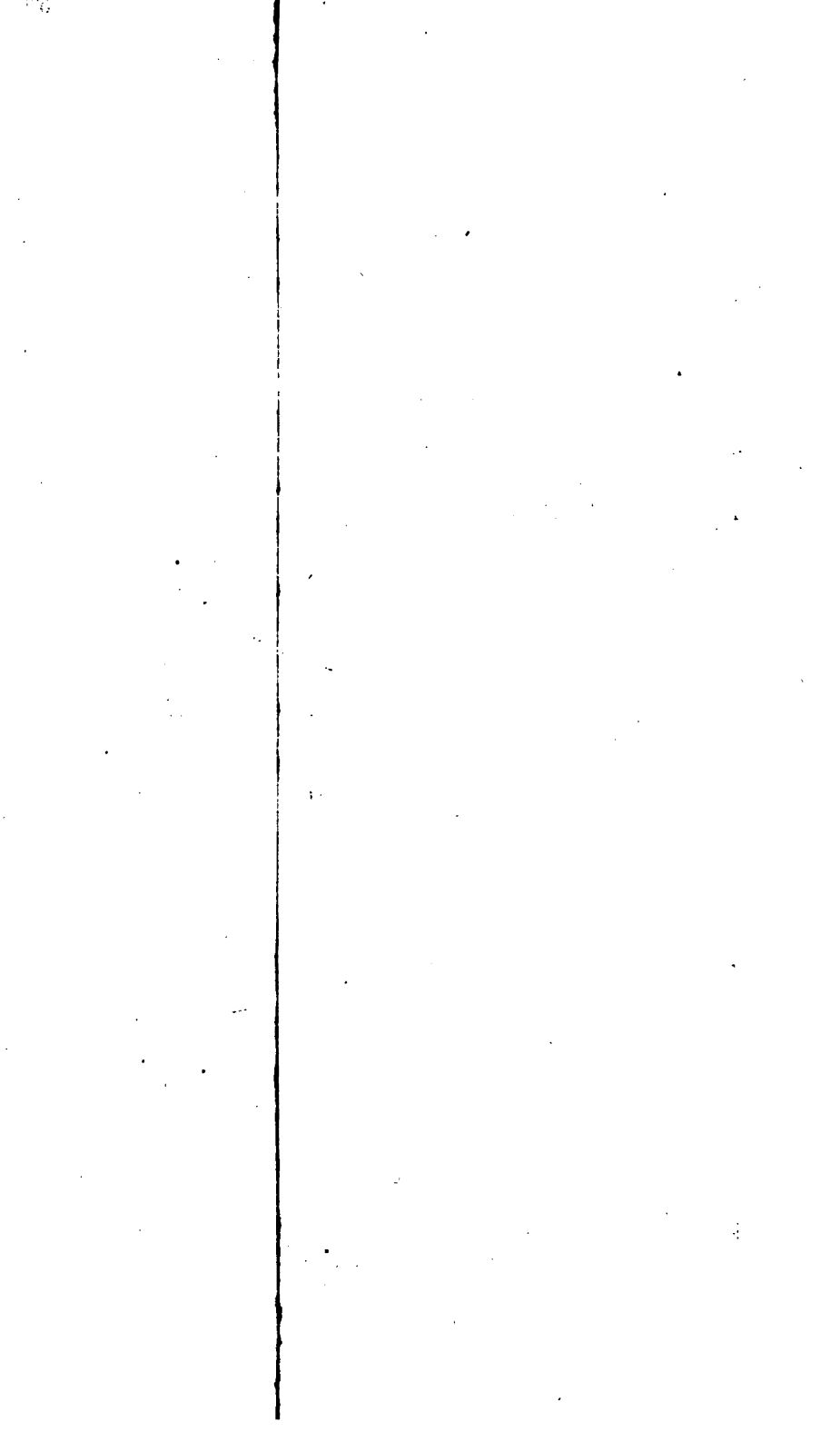
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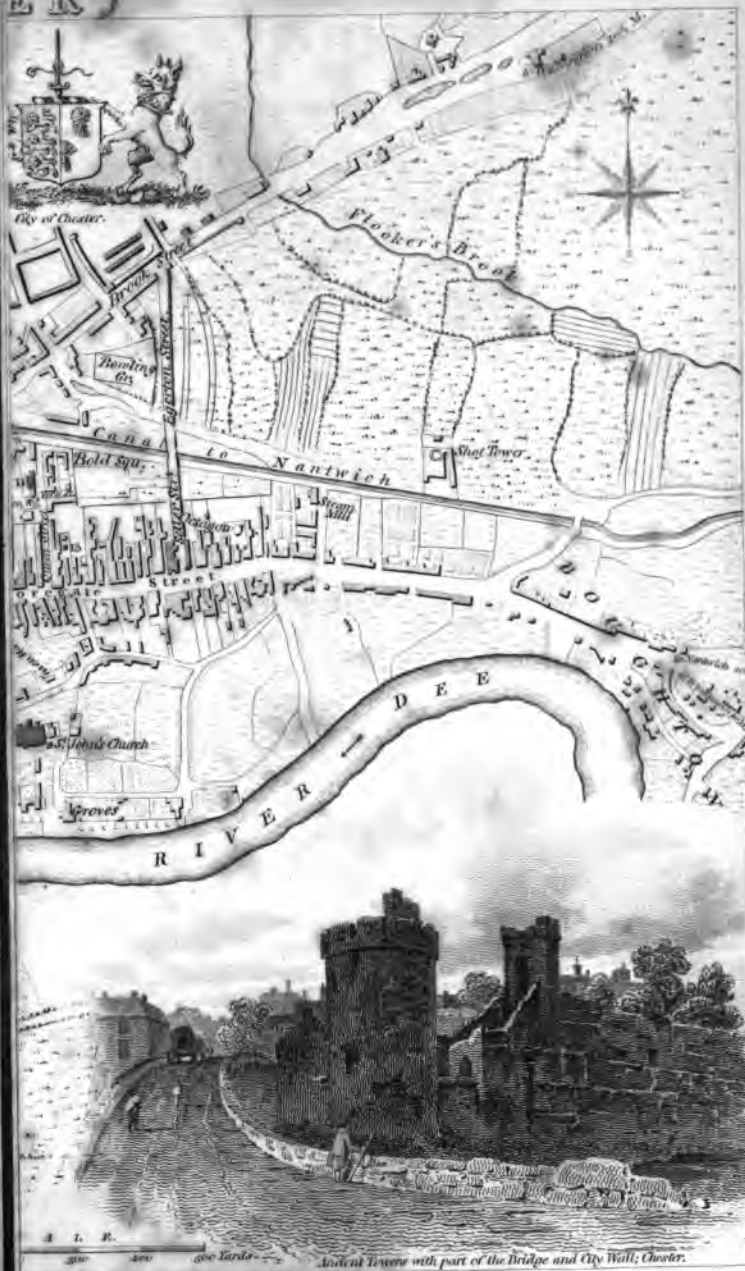








ER



CHESTER. 1829.

HISTORY
OF THE
CITY OF CHESTER,

FROM ITS
FOUNDATION TO THE PRESENT TIME;

WITH AN
ACCOUNT OF ITS ANTIQUITIES, CURIOSITIES, LOCAL CUSTOMS,
AND PECULIAR IMMUNITIES;

AND
A Concise Political History.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY JOSEPH HEMINGWAY.

VOL. I.

CHESTER:

PRINTED BY J. FLETCHER, OF WHOM THE WORK MAY BE HAD;
OF ALL BOOKSELLERS; AND OF THE AUTHOR, 44,
NICHOLAS-STREET, CHESTER.

1831.



NOV 1895
JAN 1896
FEB 1896

TO

The Right Honourable Earl Grosvenor.

A NOBLEMAN

WHOSE PRIVATE VIRTUES, AND UNOSTENTATIOUS
MUNIFICENCE,
DISTINGUISH HIM AS AN EXAMPLE AND ORNAMENT
OF
ELEVATED STATION;

WHOSE
PERSONAL SACRIFICES ON THE ALTAR OF HIS
COUNTRY,
DESERVEDLY ENTITLE HIM TO THE MEED
OF EXALTED PATRIOTISM;

AND TO WHOM
THE CITY OF CHESTER IS UNDER DEEP OBLIGATIONS
FOR
NUMEROUS AND SPLENDID BENEFACTIONS;

THIS WORK,

BY THE PERMISSION OF HIS LORDSHIP,
IS
MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY
HIS LORDSHIP'S

VERY OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THIS work was undertaken upon a presumption, that there was an unoccupied niche in the temple of our local literature, in which it might be advantageously deposited ; and, whether the production itself be worthy of such distinction or not, the author has every reason to be satisfied, from the respectable patronage it has received, that his original conception was correctly founded.

It is true, much has been written relative to Chester ; but a great portion of the materials, particularly as it regards the ancient history, lie scattered in broken fragments, in very scarce MSS. or old printed books, to which but few can have access ; or are contained in expensive publications, in which *Chester History* forms but a secondary, or subordinate object.* In saying this, I have no wish to deteriorate from the merits of the works of the Lysons, Dr. Ormerod, or Mr. Hanshall, which have been given to the world ; but I may be permitted to say, that all of them are subject to the objection last stated ; and in this class of publications may also be included, those of Penant, Aikin, and the learned historian of Manchester.

The first printed book upon the subject of our local history, that I am acquainted with, was a small folio, in the year 1656, under the title of *King's Vale Royal*, published and illustrated by *Daniel King*, but which was the joint production of William Webb and William Smith. This work is neither simply a history, nor simply collections, but an assemblage of heterogeneous, though valuable fragments, and without connexion or

* In 1815, Dr. Pigott, then a resident, published a small volume, which, however respectable as to its professed object, is little more than a sketch of the city. There are also in circulation, several minor publications, very useful to the casual visitor, as *The Stranger in Chester*, *The Stranger's Companion*, *The Chester Guide*, &c. very neatly got up, which afford a good deal of local information.

arrangement. The next publication bearing on our annals, and which indeed was the only work of a similar character that had appeared for nearly 150 years, was the production of that ornament of his country, Sir Peter Leycester, of Tabley, whose lineal descendant now enjoys the honour of the British peerage. Although this work bears the general title of the *Historical Antiquities of Cheshire*, yet are its contents almost altogether confined to researches in the hundred of Bucklow, and therefore forms a very inconsiderable portion even of the county history.

All the works to which reference is here made, as well as numerous others, having any relation to our local history, have been consulted, and their most interesting materials extracted, and disposed under their distinct heads of arrangement. It may also be noticed, that however diligent and careful former collectors may have been, in gleaning ancient documents and reliques, illustrative of the olden times; yet, in a soil so prolific as our city for memorials of its antiquity and former importance, fresh evidences are constantly developing themselves; and of many of these, the author has had the good fortune to possess himself. Nor should he omit to observe, that by the kindness and liberality of intelligent friends, numerous valuable papers have come into his hands, that had never found their way to public observation.

With these accumulated advantages, indolent and negligent indeed must the author have been, if he failed in producing a work, in some respects at least, superior to any that has been offered on the subject. This observation may be admitted, it is presumed, without subjecting the author to the charge of egotism, particularly as it is founded upon the advantages which incidental circumstances have thrown in his way, rather than upon the assumption of intellectual endowments, or the adventitious aids of learning, to which his pretensions are very humble. It is presented as a *popular* book to plain men; and still more to give it that distinctive character, several old documents, whose meaning had heretofore been concealed in the barbarism of an obsolete tongue, have been clothed in an intelligible English dress. The author is aware, that this deviation from the practice of thorough-paced antiquarians will, by a few, be considered a bluish, rather than an advantage; but of this he is quite satisfied, that the generality of readers will entertain a different sentiment.

For the manner in which the more modern parts of the work are executed, consisting of description, narratives of the present state of society, commerce, trade, history of modern improvements, the public buildings, and institutions, with other topics connected with the present time, the author holds himself to be especially responsible. If his success has equalled his wishes and endeavours, to give a correct delineation of these subjects, he will have no need to fear the public censure; as his applications for information have in almost every particular case, been directed to sources the most likely to be authentic, and where the instance demanded, to official characters. But, after all, it is too much to expect that no omissions have been made, or no mistakes incurred either in this, or other departments of the work. For these, the indulgence of the reader is respectfully solicited; it will be readily conceded by those, who are at all acquainted with the difficulties of such undertakings, and those who have not this knowledge, are requested to exercise candour and forbearance. With all its defects, the work contains much valuable information, not to be found in any *one* publication extant; and if, at a future period, some master spirit "smit with the love" of Cestrian lore, engages to favour the world with a more perfect and extensive history of our ancient city, it will at least be available for his patriotic purpose, and materially reduce the labour of such an undertaking.

In prosecuting the work, the author has been under great obligations to many gentlemen of the city and neighbourhood, for valuable communications on different subjects, and to others, for the facilities they have afforded him, in the acquisition of information. And first, his acknowledgments are due to the gentlemen composing the committees of the two Chester Libraries, who liberally offered him constant access to their extensive collections of books, and favoured him with privileges even more extensive than those allowed to their own members. To F. Maddock, Esq. Town-clerk, and the gentlemen connected with the Town-office, he is much indebted, for the friendly and courteous manner in which he has been permitted to inspect the corporation records, and for the promptness with which every kind of inquiry has there been met. The author is also anxious to express his sense of gratitude to the Rev. T. Bradford, for the scarce MSS. he confided to his use, and particularly for the curious collections of his relative, the late Rev. T. Crane, whose knowledge of, and taste for, the antiquities of his native City,

are correctly appreciated. He has likewise much gratification in recording the liberality of Earl Grosvenor, for the opportunity of consulting his fine collection of MSS. at Eaton, and in acknowledging the friendly way in which W. Crosley, esq. facilitated this privilege; nor can he omit stating the kind assistance he derived from the aid of F. Thomas, esq. in this inspection. To the latter gentleman he is not less obliged for deciphering and translating some other ancient documents. Several other individuals have a claim upon his acknowledgements, for a variety of useful information, among whom are, W. M. Henderson, R. Baxter, J. Fletcher, Edward Roberts, Edward Jones, and W. Cole, jun. Esqrs. Dr. Cumming, Dr. Thackeray; Mr. Ellis Jones, Mr. T. Walshman, Mr. W. Brown, Mr. J. Lowe, Mr. S. Gardner, and Mr. Thomas Broster, Custom-house.*

In conclusion, the author begs to observe, that it was his original intention to embrace in the work a concise history of the county palatine; but in his progress he soon discovered, that if this intention was prosecuted, he must confine himself to a mere summary, or else greatly exceed the limits prescribed for the publication, neither of which alternatives he was willing to subject himself to. It is probable, that a well executed history of the county, to be comprized in one 8vo. volume, and presented as a companion to the *History of Chester*, would meet with support; but in this undertaking, the author has no inclination to engage. He has fulfilled his own engagement to the utmost of his ability, and quits the field to make way for others, who may have more vigour of body and competence of intellect to execute such an undertaking.

Chester, August, 1831.

* In a note at page 230, of this volume, the author has stated an exception to that unbroken current of kindness and liberality he has been honoured with, and he is happy to say, it is the only one. This is not the proper place to controvert the recently promulgated doctrine, 'that every man has a right to do what he will with his own;' but whoever acts upon it to its utmost limits, must exclude from his creed and his practice, every kindly feeling, and neighbourly action. Where, however, there is a general countenance, little need be apprehended from puerility of intellect, or impotency of influence.

ARMORIAL BEARINGS.



BROWN, DEL.

DEAN, SCULP.

ANCIENT & MODERN, of the CITY OF CHESTER;

As granted by William Flower, Esq. Norroy Principal Herald and King of Arms of the North of England, 22nd Elizabeth, 1580, and confirmed by Richard St. George, Esq. Norroy King of Arms, in his Visitation, 1613.

ARMS:—Gules, three Lions passant gardant in pale, Or; being the Arms of England dimidiated, and impaling the Arms of *Randolph de Moachines*, Earl of Chester, viz. azure, three Garbs, two and one, also dimidiated. According to the rules of dimidiation the exact half only of the Coat is taken, and therefore only one Garb in chief and half a Garb in base are seen in the Arms of Chester.

SUPPORTERS:—On the Dexter-side a Lion rampant, Or, ducally collared, argent; on the Sinister-side a Wolf argent, ducally collared, Or.

CREST, upon a wreath, a Sword erect, sheathed; gules and azure ornamented Or, girt with a belt Or, handle and pommel of the last.

MOTTO, Anticui Colant Antiquum Dierum.





HISTORY OF CHESTER.

Situation, Origin, and Ancient Names.



HIS City, the metropolis of a county palatine, is pleasantly situated on the banks of the river Dee, at the extremity of the hundred of Braxton,* and adjoining the east end of the peninsula of Wirral, in lat. 53 deg. 15 min. north, and long. 3 deg. 3 min. west from London. It is distant about 20 miles south-east from the main sea; from London, by the nearest route, 182 miles.

* Hundreds and tythings were appointed by King Alfred, who began his reign over England about the year of Christ 872. These were ordained for the better suppressing of frauds and robberies; for every free-born man was now to be ranked, or put into some hundred and tything; and if there were any person of such dissolute carriage that he could find no pledge or surety in the hundred and tything, for his good demeanor, he was to be imprisoned as a man unworthy to be at liberty. And if any person guilty of

The city and county were formerly included within the limits of the ancient *Cornavii*, and after the arrival of the Romans, were comprehended by them in Flavia Cæsariensis, one of the provinces formed out of the great district of Britannia Superior. The *Cornavii* comprehended the present counties of Chester, Warwick, Worcester, Stafford, and Salop; and under the Saxon heptarchy, formed part of the kingdom of Mercia.

That the foundation of this city is of remote antiquity, all our writers concur in acknowledging; and it is to this fact that may be ascribed the variety of opinions promulgated as to the precise period of its origin, and its early names. This deficiency of knowledge has been amply, if not usefully supplied by vague conjecture, and curious speculation. There seems, however, little or no credit due to those legends, which affect to give the city a flourishing existence prior to the invasion of the Romans. Its being peopled at all, at that period, can only be inferred from its inviting and commodious situation, and from the natural securities its river and neighbouring hills afforded against

a robbery (whether before such pledge found, or after) should fly or make an escape, all the inhabitants of the hundred and tything were to be amerced by the King; so that by this means, as Malmesbury and Ingulphus inform us, there was such a calm of peace in the nation in a short space, that if any man had left bracelets of gold or bags of money in the highway, there were none who durst take them away. Now these freeholders, or free-born men, were cast into several companies, by ten in each company; whence they were called tything-men. Each of these pledges or sureties were yearly presented and brought forth by their chief pledge, at a general assembly for that purpose, which we still recognize in *The View of the Frank Pledge*, or *The Leet Court*. And as ten times ten make a hundred, so because it was then also appointed that ten of these companies should at certain times meet together for matters of greater weight; therefore that assembly or court was called *The Hundred Court*.—*Lambert's Eirmarcha*. When the great Doomsday survey was taken, the county of Chester was divided into twelve hundreds, the ancient names of which are thus given by Sir Peter Leycester, namely, the hundreds of Attiscros, Eraston, Chester, Willaweston, Dudestan, War-mundestrou, Riseton, Roelay, Mildestric, Hamston, Bucklow, Tunendon. But these hundreds were reduced by a later division into seven, which are the present number, to wit, Bucklow, Macclesfield, Northwich, Nantwich, Broxton, Eddisbury, and Wirral. Sir Peter supposes this division to have taken place about the reign of Edward III.

the predatory incursions of barbarous hordes with which the country, in those early days, was more or less inhabited. It is affirmed by Bede, and after him by the learned Camden, that the island of Great Britain was altogether unknown both to the ancient Greeks and Romans, until the days of Caius Julius Cæsar. Even the name of *Britain* is not to be found in any Greek or Latin authors before that time, Diodorus Siculus being the first among the former, and Lucretius among the latter, who make mention of the country; and both these lived about the same age with Cæsar, or but a little before. There is, therefore, as remarked by Sir Peter Leycester, no authentic history of this island antecedent to what we derive from Cæsar's commentaries. The ancient Britons were a barbarous people, and left no writing or history of their country to posterity. Gildas, called *Sapiens*, is the first among the Britons, known to us, who committed any memorials to writing, and these are very short and imperfect. He wrote about the year 540 of the christian æra, and what he did write, as he himself confesses, was information received from beyond sea, more than from ancient records or writings by his own countrymen: for those, if any such were ever in existence, were either destroyed by the enemy's rage, or carried away by the banished natives, so that in his time there were not any extant.

From these observations, a pretty certain conclusion may be drawn, that those writers who, either from credulity, superstition, or a love of the marvellous, would lay the foundation of our city not only before the classic days of Greece and Rome, but trace its origin almost to the deluge, have no credible data whatever to engage the belief of any reasonable enquirer. Most of the fabulous legends of this description, were cradled in the dark ages, and have no other foundation than some old traditional fiction, or the very uncertain authority of a fanciful etymology. Having, however, thus noted my sentiments upon these Chinese chronologers, I do not think myself at liberty to withhold from the curious reader several of

the names which Chester has borne, with the reasons upon which they are founded. This shall be done in an extract from Mr. Webb, as it appears in *King's Vale Royal*,* prefaced with some very sensible remarks by the same author :—

* This work, printed in folio, 1666, was the joint labours of *William Smith*, and *William Webb*, two Cheshire collectors, who gleaned up their valuable materials upwards of two hundred years ago. As it will be necessary for me frequently to advert to it, in the subsequent parts of this history, I shall here take the opportunity of presenting my readers with a notice of the circumstances connected with the publication, and of those individuals through whose medium it was ushered into the world. Though the labours of *Smith* and *Webb* have been consecrated to posterity hand in hand, yet *Smith* is rather posterior to *Webb* in point of time. He was pursuivant at arms, by the style and title of *Rouge Dragon*; and appears to have made his collections about the year 1590. A copy of these collections was entrusted to the faithful preservation of Sir Ranulph Crew, Knt. Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench; and the attentive regard of Mr. Ranulph Crew, his Lordship's grandson, for the honour of learning, and his native county, rescued this copy from its not dishonourable concealment, into that distinguished station which it has since enjoyed. William Smith's literary and antiquarian associate, *William Webb*, had a learned education in Brasen-nose College, Oxford, where he took the regular degree of Master of Arts. He had always a turn and passion for letters, though the narrowness of his circumstances obliged him to submit to the disagreeable drudgery of being many years clerk in the Mayor's court at Chester; and in the year 1616, he served the office of under-sheriff to Sir Richard Lea, of Lea and Dernhall, Knt. At this time he was between fifty and sixty years of age, and most probably made his collections somewhere about 1600. Very fortunately these collections, like those of Smith's, were rescued from their concealment, by the favourable patronage of Sir Simon Archer, of Tamworth, in the county of Warwick, Knt. a great admirer of our national antiquities. Having thus mentioned the hands that rescued these perishing memorials from oblivion, it must be added, that *Daniel King*, a native of the Palatinate (from whose name the book derives its title) was made choice of to give them birth. King had travelled into foreign parts, where he acquired the ingenious accomplishments of engraving and surveying; and by the help of these, his acquired talents, he embellished his work with a great variety of useful, curious, and ornamental sculptures. A writer of his day paid him this compliment upon his creative and preserving talent of engraving :—"That in process of time, he hoped *Daniel King* might outstrip the plety of *King Edgar*, erecting more abbies in brass than this monarch did in stone, though he is said to have built as many as there were days in the year."—And he concludes with this encomium :—

"CHESHIRE to KING, and KING to CHESHIRE, owes

"His light; since each receives what each bestows."

But after all, the credit of King seems to have been derived more from the accidental circumstance of being made the depository of these collections,

"It hath been an ambitious humour in all the writers of the ancient foundations of cities, to derive their beginnings, if it were possible, from gods or goddesses. Or, if Christianity gave restraint to that folly, yet it hath been thought a matter of grave dignity and worth, to bring them from times nearest subsequent to Noah's flood; or from some persons that were actors in the war of Troye's destruction, or some of their progeny. But our late learned and judicious writers have worthily discovered those fables; and where they find grounds for more probable conjectures, have set down their opinions. Where they see not the reason of such originals, either of names or places, they ingenuously refer it to such beginnings as lye hidden in the bosome of antiquity: whence it is, that Mr. Cambden himself, in doubts of that nature, will not stick to say, *penitus me latet*.

"That there has been so much wrastling and striving to find out the ancient names, and the first original of the city of Chester, is to me one argument of the antientness thereof; for, where there is no certainty known, how can it be but beyond the reach of all intelli-

than from any real merit he acquired by being their editor and publisher. Had he taken the pains and trouble to reduce this unshapen mass of *embryos* into some regular form, by consolidating the two parts into a methodical series of history, he would have conferred an inestimable service upon the county; but the book, in its present state of confusion, notwithstanding its pompous title, and notwithstanding that it cannot be had for less than five guineas, is neither more nor less than a mere *farrago* of valuable materials. Dr. Gower has pronounced Daniel King to be *infinitely less* meritorious than the two collectors whose work he has ushered into the world; and Sir William Dugdale is so far from passing any extravagant eulogy upon him, that he calls him a *most ignorant silly knave*. "But I hope," says Dr. Gower, "the worthy knight means *knave*, in the antiquated English sense, of *fellow* or *servant*; in the same sense as the old English translation of the Bible denominates 'Paul the *knave* of Jesus Christ.'"—A new edition of the Vale Royal, in two octavo volumes, was printed in Chester, by Mr. T. Poole, in the year 1778; the greatest part of which was consigned to the *chasse-mougers* and *breaksters*, for lack of readers. As this was, however, a most certain and expeditious mode of making the book *scarce*, its price soon rose to above three times its original charge, and cannot now be purchased for less than two guineas.

gence, that the laborious writers of all ages have endeavoured after. Whereupon I hold it for a conclusion, that many monuments in this kingdome, whereof there can be found no memory of their foundation, are more antient then those who have their foundations either certainly known, or probably conjectured.

“And to come briefly to our purpose in hand: Although for my part, I see not any but very weak grounds for their conjectures, who would bring our city of Chester's foundation from beyond all possibility of records; yet I will not prejudicate any in their surmizes, nor defraud them of the praises that any shall think good to bestow upon those who have laboured in collections of that kind.

“The first name that I find this city to have been supposed to have borne, was *Neomagus*; and this they derive from *Magus*, the son of *Samothés*, who was the first planter of inhabitants in this isle after *Noah's* flood, which now containeth England, Ireland, and Wales; and of him was called *Samothéa*; and this *Samothés* was son to *Japhet*, the third son of *Noah*; and of this *Magus*, who first builded a city even in this place, or near unto it, as it is supposed, the same was called *Neomagus*. This conjecture I find observed out of the learned Knight, Sir Thomas Elliot, who saith directly, that *Neomagus* stood where Chester now standeth, in 1 *vol. Chronic. de Descriptione Britun.* p. 2.

“Whether it carried that name for any long time of continuance, or when it lost the same, I find no certainty.

“Ranulphus, a monk of Chester, and author of the old *Polychronicon*, hath an other foundation from a Gyant, forsooth, called *Leon Gaure*, which *Gaure* Marius calls the vanquisher of the Picts, who laid the first foundation of this city, as it were, in a kind of rude and disordered fashion, which afterwards, by *Leir*, King of Brittain, was brought to a more pleasant fashion of building, which is best expressed in the verses of *Henry Bradshaw*, another monk of Chester, who wrote the life of *St. Werburgh*, and therein these verses:—

"The founder of this city, as saith *Policronicon*,
 Was *Leon Gawer*, a mighty strong *Gyant* ;
 Which builded caves and dungeons many a one,
 No goodly buildings, ne proper, ne pleasant.
 But king *Leir*, a Britain, fine and valiant,
 Was founder of *Chester*, by pleasant building,
 And was named *Guer Leir*, by the king."

"Touching which foundation, supposed by this *Leont Gawer*, I do, by so much lesse, give approbation, by how much me thinks that opinion of Mr. Camdens seems most probable, drawn from the antient Brittish language, of whom it hath been called *Caerlegion*, *Careleon Fawr*, *Carleon ar Dufyr dwy*, as the Saxons called it. Which names are derived from that legion of the Romans, called *Vicissima Victrix*, which were first placed here in the second consulship of *Galba*, with *Titus Vinus* ; and afterwards established under the government of *Julius Agricola*, appointed by this city ; being, as he thinks, not long before that time, built in this very place, and intended for a oak to the, &c. And saith he, the very name may serve to confute such *Plebeian Antiquaries*, as would derive it from *Lean Var*, a gyant, seeing *Lean Var*, in the *Brittish* language, signifieth nothing else but *The great Legion*.

"By whom, or howsoever the same city had her first foundation, it is manifest enough that it is exceeding antient ; and even the doubtfulness of the first foundation, makes it, as before I touched, of undoubted antiquity.

"The names thereof, indeed, have been variable and diverse, but those which the *Brittains*, upon the plantations of the *Roman Legions*, have fastned upon it, I hold most authentical, as those names before mentioned, of *Caer*, *per excellentiam*, amongst the antient writers, and those which the *Saxons* afterwards took from the addition of *Castra*, which might signifie either castles, or camps of souldiers, and thereupon, it is like they made the name. Many oter cities and towns yet retaining that part of the name, namely, *Caster*, or *Cester*, or *Chester*, with some difference added, either to the beginning,

or end thereof. But this our city, being the first city, made famous by that renowned legion afore-mentioned, called *Victrix*, was more properly or primarily called *Cester*, or *Chester*, being indeed an abbreviation of *Legi-cestria*; which name it obtained by the entertaining of those legions in the winter time, which first Julius Cæsar the Emperour sent, when he purposed the winning of *Ireland*; and after which, *Claudius Cæsar* placed here, when he intended the surprising of the *Orcades*. And hence it is that we may well affirm that old verse to be as antient as the name itself:—

“*Cestria de Castris nomen, quasi Castria, sumpsit.*

Which verse I find in an old author, thus prettily turn'd into an *English Hexameter*:—

“*Chester Castle Town as it were name took of a Castel.*

And that this my conjecture of the name of this city, is not without authority, I suppose that the mention of one other City of Legions, together with this, which the fore-cited author hath in the life of *St. Werburgh*, lib. 2. cap. 3. will give some satisfaction:—

“The Cities of Legions in Chronicles we find,
One in *South Wales*, in the time of *Claudius*,
Called *Carewah*, by *Brittains* had in mind;
Or else *Caer Lion*, builded by king *Belinus*:
Where sometimes was a Legion of Knights Chivalrous.
This City of Legions was whilom the Bishop's See,
To all *South Wales* nominate *Venidocle*.
Another City of Legions we find also,
In the West part of England, by the water of *Dee*,
Called *Caer-Lean* of *Brittanes* long ago,
After named *Chester*, by great authority.
Julius the Emperour sent to this said city,
A Legion of Knights to subdue *Ireland*,
Likewise did *Claudius*, as we understand.
The city of Legions, so called by *Romans*,
Now is nominate, in *Latine*, of his property,
Cestria quasi Castra, of honour and pleasure,
Proved by Building of old antiquity
In cellars, and Low-Vaults, and Halls realty.
Like a comely Castle, mighty, strong and sure.
Each house like a Castle, something of great pleasure.”

“My author proceedeth further; and Mr. Stow, it seems, followed him in these words, in his summary, fol. 16. *Leil the son of Brute, Gredshield, that destroyed the Gyant out of his Land, being a lover of peace, in his time builded Caerleil*, that is now called *Chester*; the first founder whereof, saith *Randal Higden*, was *Leon Gaur* of *Neptunus* Progeny, a mighty strong Gyant, which builded the same city, with caves and walls under the earth. But this king Leil, of whom we have spoken before, was founder thereof, with pleasant building and fair houses, and named Carleil. Since that time, by the *Romans*, this city was re-edified, when a Legion of *Romane* Knights and souldiers was sent thither, and by them named *The City of Legions*, which is now called *Cestria*, of the antient Building with Vaults and Towers, each house like a castle, which were sometimes of great pleasure. And in the same, fol. 26. he saith, that in the 73. year of Christ, that *Marius*, the son of *Arviragus*, repaired, walled, and fortified the city of *Caerleon*, now called *Chester*.”

Enough has been said in the above quotation, to shew the absurdity of those ancient writers, who have laboured to give the city a name and existence prior to the period from whence we can derive any authentic data for history. Our later historians, while they have scrupulously noticed these fabulous legends, have decidedly disclaimed their authority. Pennant remarks, however, that those who have derived its name from *Leon Gaure*, the giant, do not err greatly from the right name, *Caer Lleon*, the camp of the legion.* *Caer Lleon fawr ar*

* The word *legion* comes from *legere*, which signifies to *choose*. And indeed the Roman legions were all *chosen* men. The number of men in a legion was different at different times. It is sufficient to observe here, that when Livy says, Romulus led one legion against the *Antemnates*, he must be understood to mean, that he led three thousand foot and three hundred horse against them, which were then the best part of the Roman forces. Plutarch says, that the Roman legion consisted at that time of three thousand foot and three hundred horse. In Polybius's time, a legion of four thousand men had six hundred *Triarii*, twelve hundred *Principes*, and as many

Ddyfrdwy, the camp of the great legion on the *Dee*, being the head quarters of the twentieth Roman legion, styled also *Valeria* and *Victrix*. This legion came into Britain before the year 61; for it had a share in the defeat of Boadicea by Suetonius. After this victory, the Roman forces were led towards the borders of North Wales, probably into Cheshire. Afterwards, by reason of the relaxed state of discipline, a wing had been cut off by the Ordovices, just before the arrival of Agricola; but the quarters of these troops at that period are not exactly known. It is probable that part at least were on the *Deva*; that he collected a few of his forces, and began his march against the enemy from this place: and, that, after his successful expedition into *Mona*, he determined to fix here a garrison, as the fittest place to bridle the warlike people he was about to leave behind him. In consequence, he fixed part of the legion at Chester, and detachments in the neighbouring posts, before he ventured on the distant expedition to Scotland, into which he led a body of his troops, as appears from the inscriptions found in the country, which prove that a *verillatio* of this legion was concerned in building the Roman wall. In order to encourage the troops he left behind, he formed here a colony; and the place was styled from them, and from its situation, *Colonia Devana*, as is proved, says Mr. Pennant, by the coin of *Septimius Jeta*, son of *Leverus*, which was thus inscribed:

COL. DEVANA LEG. XX. VICTRIX.*

The city was also called simply *Deva*, from the river which washed one side:—"the antient hallowed *Dee*."

Hastati; the rest were *Velites*. If the legion happened to be more numerous, each of the three last corps was increased in proportion, but the *Triarii* never exceeded six hundred.—*Hook's Roman History*.

* Since Mr. Pennant published his account of Chester, a larger portion of Roman antiquities has been found within the city than had been discovered before his time. The reader is apprised, that a description of all the relics that indicate the olden times will be collected under one head in a subsequent part of this work, and given under the general title of *ANTIQUITIES*.

The same historian likewise deduces its Roman origin from the form of the city, which represents the figure of their camps, with four gates, four principal streets, with a variety of lesser ones, crossing the others at right angles, so as to divide the whole into lesser squares. There are, indeed, so many indubitable evidences of its Roman origin, at least so far as relates to its present form and ancient fortifications, that any further attempt to elucidate this fact would be worse than useless.

Roman Chester.

There is a concurrent agreement among all ancient writers, that the first inhabitants of Britain were a tribe of the Gauls or Celtæ, who peopled that island from the neighbouring continent. Their language, names, government, and superstitions were the same, varied only by those small differences, which time, or a communication with the bordering nations, must necessarily introduce. At the time when the mistress of the world sought to extend her conquests, by adding this country to her dominions, the Britons were divided into many small nations or tribes; and being a military people, whose sole property was their arms and their cattle, it was impossible, after they had tasted the sweets of independence, for their princes or chieftains to establish any despotic authority over them.* Their governments, though

* From the period of the invasion of the Romans to the departure of that people from our shores, in the latter end of the fifth century, the lights of history are as clear and distinct as they are numerous and authentic. From the writings of Cæsar, Tacitus, Pliny, Ptolemy, and many other illustrious historians, the state of the country, its manners and institutions, as well as the subsequent transactions of the conquerors, are recorded with accuracy and precision. But for several succeeding centuries, historical data is more obscured. The domestic broils that followed the Roman sway, the petty states into which the country was split, the general ignorance that overspread the people, and above all, the superstitions imported from Papal Rome at a very early period; contributed to dim the page of history, or so to disfigure its characters, as to render its recitals as doubtful as they were improbable.

monarchical, were free, as well as those of all the Celtic nations; and the common people seem even to have enjoyed more liberty among them than among the nations of Gaul, from whom they were descended. Each state was divided into factions within itself: it was agitated with jealousy or animosity against the neighbouring states, and while the arts of peace were yet unknown, wars were the chief occupation, and formed the principal object of ambition among the people. The religion of the Britons was one of the most considerable parts of their government; and the Druids, who were their priests, possessed great authority among them. Besides ministering at the altar, and directing all religious duties, they presided over the education of youth, enjoyed an immunity from wars and taxes, and exercised both the civil and criminal jurisdiction. They practised their rites in dark groves, or other secret recesses; and, in order to throw the veil of mystery over their religion, they communicated their doctrines only to the initiated, and strictly forbade the committing them to writing, lest they should at any time be exposed to the examination of the profane vulgar. Human sacrifices were practised among them; the spoils of war were often devoted to their divinities; and they punished with the severest tortures whoever dared to secrete any part of the consecrated offering. Their treasures they kept in woods and forests, secured by no other guard than the terrors of their religion; and this steady conquest over human avidity may be regarded as more signal than their prompting men to the most extraordinary and most violent efforts. No idolatrous worship ever attained such an ascendant over mankind as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons; and the Romans, after their conquest, finding it impossible to reconcile those nations to the laws and institutions of their masters, while it maintained its authority, were at last obliged to abolish it by penal statutes; a violence which had never, in any other instance, been practised by those tolerating conquerors.

In this rude but independent state, the Britons had long remained, when Cæsar, having over-run all Gaul

by his victories, first cast his eye over the white cliffs of Albion. There was nothing in the island to tempt the avarice of the Roman people, nor did it present an arena wherein to acquire military renown ; but being ambitious of carrying the Roman arms into a new world, then almost unknown, Cæsar took advantage of a short interval in his Gaulic wars, and made an invasion of Britain. The natives, informed of his intentions, were sensible of the unequal contest, and endeavoured to appease him by submissions ; which, however, retarded not the execution of his design. After some resistance, he landed at Deal [Before Christ, 55] ; and having obtained several advantages over the Britons, and obliged them to promise hostages for their future obedience, he was constrained, by the necessity of his affairs and the approach of winter, to withdraw his forces into Gaul. The Britons, relieved from the terror of his arms, neglected the performance of their stipulations ; and that haughty conqueror resolved next summer, to chastise them for this breach of treaty. He landed with a greater force, and though he found a more regular resistance from the Britons, who had united under Cassivelaunus, one of their petty princes, he discomfited them in every action. He advanced into the country ; passed the Thames in the face of the enemy ; took and burned the capital of Cassivelaunus ; established his ally Mandubratius, in the sovereignty of the Trinobantes ; and having obliged the inhabitants to make him new submissions, he again returned with his army into Gaul, and left the authority of the Romans more nominal than real in this island.

The domestic commotions at Rome which immediately followed this period, and the supineness or indolence of several succeeding emperors, left the Britons at their ease, to direct their own affairs, for near a century. At length, in the reign of Claudius, the Romans began to think seriously of reducing them under their dominion. Without seeking any more justifiable reasons of hostility than were employed by the late Europeans in subjecting the Africans and Americans, they sent over an army

[A.D. 43.] under the command of Plaudius, an able general, who gained some victories, and made considerable progress in subduing the inhabitants. Claudius himself, finding matters sufficiently prepared for his reception, made a journey into Britain, and received the submission of several British states, who inhabited the south-east parts of the island, and whom their possessions and more cultivated manner of life rendered willing to purchase peace at the expense of their liberty. The other Britons, under the command of Caractacus, still maintained an obstinate resistance; and the Romans made little progress against them, till Ostorius Scupula was sent over to command their armies. This general [A. D. 50.] advanced the Roman conquests over the Britons; pierced into the country of the Silures, a warlike nation who inhabited the banks of the Severn; defeated Caractacus in a great battle, took him prisoner, and sent him to Rome, where his magnanimous behaviour procured him better treatment than those conquerors usually bestowed upon captive princes. A vigorous opposition was still made to the Roman yoke by the aboriginals, particularly under Boadicea, a princess of undaunted heroism, who obtained several advantages over the Romans, but was at last compelled to yield to their superior discipline, when she put an end to her own life by poison. It was reserved, however, for Julius Agricola to complete the conquest of this island, who governed it in the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and distinguished himself in that scene of action. This great commander, in the midst of his military achievements, neglected not the arts of peace. He introduced laws and civilization among the Britons, taught them to desire and raise all the conveniences of life, reconciled them to the Roman language and manners, instructed them in letters and science, and employed every expedient to render those chains which he had forged both easy and agreeable to them. The inhabitants having experienced how unequal their own force was to resist that of the Romans, acquiesced in the dominion of their masters, and were gradually incorporated as a part of that

mighty empire. This was the last durable conquest made by the Romans; and Britain, once subdued, gave but little further disquietude to the victor. Caledonia alone, defended by its barren mountains, and by the contempt which the Romans entertained for it, sometimes infested the more cultivated parts of the island by the incursions of its inhabitants. The better to secure the frontiers of the empire, Adrian, who visited this island, built a rampart between the river Tyne and the Frith of Solway: Lollius Urbicus, under Antoninus Pius, erected one in the place where Agricola had formerly established his garrisons: Severus, who made an expedition into Britain, and carried his arms to the most northern extremity of it, added new fortifications to the wall of Adrian, and during the reign of all the Roman emperors, such a profound tranquillity prevailed in Britain, that little mention is made of the affairs of that island by any historian. The only incidents which occur, are some seditions or rebellions of the Roman legions quartered there, and some usurpations of the imperial dignity by the Roman governors. The natives disarmed, dispirited, and submissive, had lost all desire, and even idea, of their former liberty and independence.

Notwithstanding the resistless spirit manifested by the aboriginal Britons to the conquerors, it is not likely that the latter would altogether depend upon the loyalty of the former; and hence the policy and necessity of always keeping in the country a strong military force. For the quartering of these troops, numerous stations and colonies were fixed upon by the Roman generals in different parts of the island, and the city of Chester was distinguished as both one and the other. It has already been noticed that the famous twentieth legion had its residence here, so early as the year of the Christian era 61, a fact that will hereafter be fully demonstrated. In the mean time, it may not be uninteresting to take a view of the amount of the Roman forces, and in what manner they were distributed. Most of our histories are exceedingly defective on this point, but the historian of Manchester.

has entered into the subject with great precision and minuteness.

It is supposed by the sensible and accurate Mr. Horseley (says Mr. Whittaker), that the Roman garrison in Britain during the second, third, and fourth centuries, amounted only to three legions, the sixth Victorious, the twentieth Valerian and Victorious, and the second Augustan, with the auxiliaries regularly attendant on them. And with this supposition the history of Dio, Ptolemy's Geography, and Antonine's Itinerary, seem all to concur; as they all mention these, and only these, to be resident in the island. This number, as appears from the complement of a single legion during the very same ages, which was six thousand one hundred foot, and seven hundred and twenty-one horse, and from the stated proportion of the auxiliary to the legionary troops, which was equal in the infantry, and double in the cavalry, must have contained about thirty-six thousand six hundred foot, and six thousand five hundred horse. Such would be the greatest amount of them, even if every corps had its just complement of men. And we can have little doubt, but among a nation which was extremely numerous, and in a country which was only in part subdued, the legions and their auxiliaries were constantly supplied with fresh recruits; and maintained in their full force. But, even thus considered, these are insufficient for the purposes of garrisoning the island, and the long list which the two Itineraries give us of the stations in Britain, shows them to be so. This list presents us with a hundred and forty or a hundred and fifty fortresses, even after the Romans had retired to the wall of Antoninus, and abandoned the stations that extended from Inverness to the Friths. Those were all of them designed to be, and were all actually garrisoned by the Romans; as otherwise they would neither have been constructed at first, nor recited in the Itineraries afterwards. Besides each station was attended with various castellets; which would require garrisons nearly equal in their amount to the complement of the principal

station. But it would be evidently ridiculous to distribute a body of forty-three thousand men into a hundred and forty principal forts; as such a scheme could allot only about three hundred and seven for a station and its subordinate dependences.

The garrison of every station in the Itinerary, with its appendages, except five or six that were merely constructed *Ad Fines*, could not have been less than four hundred effective men. A greater number would have been requisite for most, and a smaller could not be sufficient for any. And, even in this disposition, the total amount of troops requisite for a hundred and forty garrisons, would be fifty-six thousand men. This is apparently the smallest number that we can suppose to have resided in the kingdom. But a much greater was resident in it; as, during the dispersion of the rest, some more considerable bodies would be kept together, the more effectually to overawe the conquered Britons within the walls, and the unconquered without. And such actually appear together; one large corps being quartered at Chester, another at York, and a third at Caerleon, in Monmouthshire. This being the case, there were necessarily more than three legions in the island. The positive testimony of Josephus assures us, that there were four during the reign of Vespasian. And the accounts of Richard, and the discovered inscriptions of the Romans, prove that there were more afterwards. Several bricks have been found at Caer Rhun, or the ancient Conovium of Wales, which clearly exhibited the name of the tenth legion. And the fact is very particularly authenticated, having the united attestation of the Rev. Mr. Brickdale and Dr. Gale, each (as far as appears) unknown to the other, and both concurring in the same testimony. Hence the tenth legion appears to have been quartered among the Ordovices, and at the station of Conovium. And it remained there a long time, because the name of a neighbouring hill, Mynydd Caer Lheon, or the mountain of the city of the legion, shews the town to have obtained the same name among the neighbouring Britons, that Deva, the

seat of the sixth legion for three centuries acquired on one side, and Isca Silurum, the residence of the second for as long a period, still retains on the other. To this we may add the Claudian legion, as the seventh was peculiarly called, having obtained that particular honour from the Senate, because of its signal attachment to Claudius during the short-lived but alarming rebellion of 42. It was settled at Gloucester in the reign of Claudius, and at Gloucester it continued a considerable time; as, in the historical monuments of the Romans which Richard of Cirencester inspected, the town was denominated from it *Legio Claudia*, and in our own annals frequently bears the similar appellation of *Claudia-cestria*.

Thus have we found five legions resident a long time in the island, two additional to the number supposed by Mr. Horseley, and seemingly fixed by Ptolemy, Dio, and Antoninus. But the legionary lists in these authors are very defective. That of Dio, which is the fullest, mentions only thirty-one in the whole; that of Antoninus only twenty-six; and Ptolemy's only seventeen. And, as the two last of them appear particularly defective, upon a collation merely with the first, so is this expressly declared to be the list of such legions only as consisted of Roman citizens only. The many that were composed of volunteers from the subject nations, and which were very distinct from the bodies of auxiliaries supplied by the national authority of each; as the fifth of the Gauls, the tenth of the Batavians, and the twelve others that are recited in the following catalogue;—all these are professedly omitted by Dio. The authentic records of inscriptions demonstrate the number of both to have been fifty or sixty at least. And the suggestions of common sense, still more authentic than they, evince the necessity of as many (independently of the national auxiliaries) to secure the extended dominions of the Roman empire. The express numbers of the legions appears indeed from Dio to have been only about twenty-three or twenty-five from the reign of Augustus to that of Alexander Severus; and from inscriptions to have never exceeded thirty-six after-

wards. And this has been generally supposed by our antiquarians, to be absolutely the whole of the Roman legions. But, as several of these were bodies of foreign volunteers, so each of the others, except perhaps the eighth, the eleventh, the fourteenth, and the thirtieth, had several extraordinary brigades of citizens, or foreigners belonging to them; every one of which had equally the complement and denomination of a legion, and was distinguished from each other, and the original brigade, by some additional title; and this was sometimes derived from the name of the Emperor, under whom they had been originally raised, or by whom they had been particularly favoured; but was generally assumed from the kingdoms of their first or longest residence. Hence, in Dio's catalogue of purely Roman legions, we find so many of them distinguished by the denominations of Gallic, Cyrenean, Scythian, Macedonian, Egyptian, Germanic, and Parthian. And the tenth Twin legion, being long stationed in Germany, and the second Augustan, being longer stationed in Britain, appear under the particular appellation of the tenth Germanic and the second Britannic legions in Ptolemy and the Notitia. But the original and additional battalions can seldom be distinguished from each other by their names; and yet they may by the catalogue of Dio. Thus the seventh legion had the several brigades, which were called the seventh Claudian and the seventh Galban legions, both consisting of Romans, and therefore specified by Dio; and the seventh Twin, seventh Twin Claudian, and seventh Twin Antonian, all three composed of foreigners, and therefore omitted by him. And the tenth had the tenth Fretan and tenth Twin, two enumerated battalions of Romans; and the tenth Antonian Augustan, and tenth Batavian, two unnoticed ones of foreigners. The tenth legion is mentioned by Dio, and placed by him in Judea; and Josephus had previously fixed it at Jerusalem. And the brigade intended by both appears from the Notitia, to have been equally denominated the tenth Fretan. It was settled in Judea by Titus; and in Judea it continued

to the period of the Notitia. But the legion which was stationed in Wales, and which appears from the above-mentioned inscription to have been certainly a battalion of the tenth, appears pretty clearly from a coin which was discovered in that country, and inscribed with the following name, to have been the tenth Antonian Augustan. And many of the legionary brigades were denominated Gemellæ, Geminæ, or Twins, because they were compounded of two, and had a double complement of men. Such was one of the tenth, of the thirteenth, and of the fourteenth ; and such, as appears above, were three of the five in the seventh. One of these, the Twin Claudian legion, was that which was stationed at Gloucester. It could not have been, as Dr. Stukeley supposes, the brigade which was denominated more simply the seventh Claudian, which accompanied Cæsar in his first expedition into Britain, and from the days of Dio to the period of the Notitia, was constantly stationed in the Higher Moesia. Our Claudian legion appears to have been continued in the island after the time of Dio, and even to that of Carausius. And it was therefore the only other brigade of the seventh which bore the title of Claudian, and had the discriminative appellation of Twin Claudian. . . .

The troops then, which the Romans maintained in the island, were five legions, one of them being double, and all having their attendant auxiliaries ; or about seventy-three thousand foot and thirteen thousand horse. And the head-quarters of another, the twentieth, were in all probability fixed at Chester by the direction of Agricola, and at the termination of his war ; as it certainly resided there within seventy years afterwards. We have also the positive authority of Malmesbury, perhaps the vehicle of tradition, but probably the copier of history, that one or more of the Julian legions, those commanded by Julius Agricola, were actually settled at Chester ; and the better and more express attestation of Richard of Cirencester, *that Chester was constructed by the soldiers of the twentieth.* And the Frisians, who resided at Man-

Chester, were in all probability a part of its auxiliaries ; one of the eight cohorts which were annexed to the ten of the legion, and which usually accompanied it upon expeditions in war, and were ordinarily disposed within the stations that lay nearest to it in peace.

Before concluding the notice of the residence of the Romans among us, I shall briefly advert to the number of regular towns in Roman-Britain, their polity, and the mode of government in the British dominions ; nor am I aware that on these subjects there is any more respectable authority than the historian I have already mentioned.

When the Romans had seen their little village of hurdles and clay become the magnificent metropolis of Italy, and began to extend her dominions into those of the neighbouring powers, they did not model their new conquests as they had modelled their old. They instituted a new platform of polity for them, and distinguished them by a new denomination. They now divided them into districts, gave them the appellation of provinces, and subjected them to prætors and quæstors. The island of Sicily was the earliest conquest of the Romans beyond the limits of Italy, which was therefore the first of all their provinces, and received the first model of their provincial regimen. And this and every other was governed by its own prætor and quæstor. The former officer was charged with the whole administration of the government, and the latter deputed to manage the finances under him. And this was equally the conduct of the Romans in our own island particularly. The conquered regions of Britain were divided into six provinces, and governed by six prætors and six quæstors. Each province formed a distinct government of itself ; and they all acknowledged one head within the island, and were all subject to the authority of the proconsul, the legate, or the vicar of Britain. The prætor constantly resided in the capital of the province. There was his mansion-house, denominated Pala-

tium, or Domus Palatina, by the Romans. In this was assembled the principal court of justice, judicial determinations were made by the prætor, and the imperial decrees and prætorial decrees promulged. Each prætor had many of these deputies under him, as each province had many of these towns. Britannia Prima comprised about forty; Britannia Secunda, fifteen; Flavia, fifty; Valentia, ten; and that of Maxima, twenty-five. And Britain, from the southern sea to the Friths of Forth and Clyde, at the close of the first century, had a hundred and forty towns in all. Of these, the district now comprehending the county of Chester, had four or five, Chester, Kinderton, Harford, and others; Lancashire had eight, namely, Blackrode, Frickleton, Ribchester, Colne, Overborough, Warrington, Lancaster, and Manchester. These towns were of different degrees. They varied greatly from themselves, not merely in the rank of their civil estimation, but even in the nature of their constitutions. They were particularly distinguished into the four orders of towns municipal and stipendiary, colonies, and cities invested with the Latin privileges. And, as there would necessarily be many stipendiaries in every conquered kingdom, so were there no less than two municipia, nine colonies, and ten Latin towns, in our own. The generality of the British cities, therefore, was merely stipendiary. Such were Winchester, Canterbury, Exeter, and Leicester, in particular. And such also was Manchester, which, like them, was subject to all the provincial regimen. Each of these places was governed by a particular commandant, the deputy of the prætor, and merely an annual officer. This prætor acted as an edile, and therefore had the whole prætorial authority over the town and its immediate vicinity delegated to him. But the garrison in the station, we may be sure, was independent of him, and subject immediately to the prætorial authority. These were the officers now first introduced among us, and necessarily introduced with our towns by the Romans.

The payments assessed upon the provincial Britons, consisted of four or five different articles. One was an

imposition upon burials, which is particularly urged as a grievance by the spirited Boadicea; another was a capitation tax, which was likewise objected to by that British heroine; a third was a cess upon lands, which amounted to two shillings in the pound, or a tenth of the annual produce, in every thing that was raised from seed, and to four shillings or a fifth, in all that was raised from plants; and a fourth was an imposition upon cattle. And all the commercial imports and exports were subject to particular charges. Such, in general, were the taxes of our British ancestors, under the government of the Romans. And, as they were the badges of the Roman dominion over them, they were naturally disliked by a newly conquered people. As they were embittered to their minds by the never-failing haughtiness of a victorious soldiery in general, and of the Roman in particular, they were as naturally hated by a gallant one. But they were not oppressive in themselves. They were merely an equivalent, in all probability, to the duties which they had formerly rendered to their own sovereigns. The amount of them was scarcely sufficient to answer the expences of the civil and military establishments in the island. And the weight was certainly light; as the smallness of the collections at last stimulated the policy of avarice to abolish all the provincial taxes, and substitute even the Roman in their stead. In this general condition of our towns, some were raised above the common rank by the communication of the *Jus Latii*, or Latin privilege. This was an exemption from the ordinary jurisdiction of the prætor; and the inhabitants of a Latin town were no longer governed by a foreign præfect and foreign prætor, but by a prætor and præfect elected among themselves. A Briton was their president, a Briton was their justiciary, and a Briton was their tax-gatherer. And every inhabitant of such a town that had borne the offices of prætor and quæstor, was immediately entitled to the privileges of a Roman citizen. These rights the Romans first communicated to the conquered Latins, and afterwards extended to all the Italians. Cæsar seems to

have been the first that carried them beyond the bounds of Italy, and conferred them upon a provincial town. Novum Comum certainly, and most probably Nemausus in Gaul, received this distinction from him; and were perhaps the first provincial towns that received it. It was afterwards bestowed upon several of our cities in Britain, Durnomagus, or Caster, near Peterborough; Ptoroton, or Inverness; Victoria, or Perth; Theodosia, or Dunbarton; Lugubalia, or Carlisle; and Sorbiodunum, or Salisbury; Corinium, or Cirencester; Cataracton, or Catarick in Yorkshire; Cambodunum, or Slack, in Longwood; and Coccium, or Blackrode in Lancashire.

These were the names, and these the constitutions of the towns which were inhabited principally by the Britons. But there were others, which were chiefly possessed by the Romans, and had therefore a very different polity. These were colonies and municipies. The commencement of the Roman colonies was nearly coeval with that of the Roman conquests, but the first that was planted in any of the provinces, was projected by the genius of the celebrated Caius Gracchus, and settled upon the site of the memorable Carthage. And others were established on the same principle in Britain; Claudius settling a strong body of legionary veterans at Colchester, the first of all the Roman colonies in Britain; and he and the succeeding legates fixing eight other colonies in different parts of the island, of which Chester was constituted one, the others being Richborough, London, Gloucester, Bath, Caerleon in Monmouthshire, Chesterford, and Lincoln. That colony was esteemed the headquarters of the legion, where some of the principal cohorts were lodged, the eagle was deposited, and the commander was resident. Such was our famed Deva for the twentieth Valerian Victorious; Eboracum for the sixth Victorious; Caerleon for the second Augustan; and Glevum for the seventh Twin Claudian. The rest were peopled by the other cohorts of these legions; Caerleon, London, and Richborough, all peopled by those of the second Augustan; and the tenth Antonian was lodged in the common

stations, as the tenth legion had three, the twelfth five, and the twenty-second six, in Germany and Gaul. Thus were large bodies of the soldiery kept together by the Romans, at Richborough, London, Colchester, Chesterford, Lincoln and York, along the eastern side of the island; and at Chester, Bath, Gloucester, and Caerleon, upon the western; ready at once to suppress any insurrection at home, and repel any invasion from abroad. The Roman legionaries lived together without any great intermixture of the natives; allowing few probably to reside with them, but the useful traders and necessary servants. As their government was partly civil, the legionary colonists were subject to the Roman laws, were governed by their own senators or decuriones, and enjoyed all the privileges of Roman citizens. And, as it was equally military, they strengthened their towns with regular fortifications, and guarded them with regular watches, had their names retained upon the quarter-master's roll, and were obliged to march at the general's command. But, as in a series of years the number of males in the colonies would necessarily increase, as they were all of them legionaries by birth, upon any military exigence, a draught would be made out of the colonists, and such a number levied as was requisite to the occasion. These towns naturally assumed the names of the legions to which the colonists belonged, as is particularly exemplified in the name of our own city, frequently in accompaniment, and sometimes in supersedence, of their own British appellations.

In reviewing the conquest of our island by the Romans, and their long residence among us, we see great and numerous advantages resulting to the whole country, and consequently to our own local district. Before this period, the aborigines were nothing less than uncivilized barbarians, linked together in predatory tribes, and but little acquainted with the art of agriculture, dependent for their subsistence upon the spontaneous productions of an uncultivated soil, the fruits of the chase, or the spoils of their

neighbours. When, however, the Romans took possession of the country, every thing assumed a new and more favourable aspect. After some ineffectual resistance on the part of the inhabitants, they sunk beneath the superior discipline of their invaders; civilization, order, and peace followed in their train; and during a period of near four centuries, the empire of law and national subordination was scarcely ever violated. Nor are the advantages of their presence in Britain less obvious, from the disorders that immediately followed their departure hence, which continued in various degrees, until the Norman conqueror grasped with a strong hand the sceptre of the country.

There are few, perhaps no places in the kingdom, that bear so strong an impress of Roman skill, ingenuity, and refinement, as our own venerated city. Their monuments are so various, and come recommended to our conviction with such indubitable accuracy and authority, that while we behold them with our eyes, an association of ideas seems to leave but a short chasm between their times and our own, though at a distance almost as great as the era of human redemption. While we traverse our fine walls, the form of which evinces their origin,* we clearly discover the patient labour and dexterous skill of the Roman artificer; in our gates and noble arches, particularly those lately taken down at the Eastgate, of which due notice will be taken in the following pages, we have brought to view her advanced architectural science; the site, if not the remains of her ancient rampart, is distinctly visible in our present old castle; and on the spot where St. Peter's church now stands, we recognize her Prætorium,† where the Roman laws were administered by even-handed justice.

But I am admonished, that further observations of this description would forestall several topics which are to be professedly discussed in a subsequent part of this work; and shall therefore hasten to record the concluding events of the Roman empire in Britain, as they are related by an eminent historian.

* Pennant, vol. i. p. 147. † Pennant, vol. i. p. 225.

The period was now come, when that enormous fabric of the Roman empire, which had diffused slavery and oppression, together with peace and civility over so considerable a part of the globe, was approaching towards its final dissolution. Italy, and the centre of the empire, removed, during so many ages, from all concern in the wars, had entirely lost the military spirit, and were peopled by an enervated race equally disposed to submit to a foreign yoke, or to the tyranny of their own rulers. The emperors found themselves obliged to recruit their legions from the frontier provinces, where the genius of war, though languishing, was not totally extinct; and these mercenary forces, careless of laws and civil institutions, established a military government, no less dangerous to the sovereign than to the people. The farther progress of the same disorders introduced the bordering barbarians into the service of the Romans; and those fierce nations having now added discipline to their native bravery, could no longer be restrained by the impotent policy of the emperors, who were accustomed to employ one in the destruction of the others. Sensible of their own force, and allured by the prospect of so rich a prize, the northern barbarians, in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, assailed at once all the frontiers of the Roman empire; and having first satiated their avidity by plunder, began to think of fixing a settlement in the wasted provinces. The more distant barbarians, who occupied the deserted habitations of the former, advanced in their acquisitions, and pressed with their incumbent weight the Roman state, already unequal to the load which it sustained. Instead of arming the people in their own defence, the emperors recalled all the distant legions, in whom alone they could repose confidence; and collected the whole military force for the defence of the capital and centre of the empire. The necessity of self-preservation had superseded the ambition of power; and the ancient point of honour never to contract the limits of the empire, could no longer be attended to in this desperate extremity. Britain, by its situation, was removed from the fury of

these barbarous incursions ; and, being also a remote province, not much valued by the Romans, the legions which defended it were carried over to the protection of Italy and Gaul. But that province, though secured by the sea against the inroads of the greater tribes of barbarians, found enemies on its frontiers, who took advantage of its present defenceless situation. The Picts and Scots, who dwelt in the northern parts, beyond the wall of Antoninus, made incursions upon their peaceable and effeminate neighbours ; and, besides the temporary depredations which they committed, these combined nations threatened the whole province with subjection, or, what the inhabitants more dreaded, with plunder and devastation. The Picts seem to have been a tribe of the native British race, who, having been chased into the northern parts by the conquests of Agricola, had there intermingled with the native inhabitants ; the Scots were derived from the same Celtic origin, had first been established in Ireland, had migrated to the north-west coasts of this island, and had long been accustomed, as well from their old as their new seats, to infest the Roman provinces by piracy and rapine. These tribes, finding their more opulent neighbours exposed to invasion, soon broke over the Roman wall, no longer defended by the Roman arms ; and though a contemptible enemy in themselves, met with no resistance from the unwarlike inhabitants. The Britons, accustomed to have recourse to the emperors for defence, as well as government, made supplications to Rome ; and one legion was sent over for their protection. This force was an over-match for the barbarians, repelled their invasion, routed them in every engagement, and, having chased them into their ancient limits, returned in triumph to the defence of the southern provinces of the empire. Their retreat brought on a new invasion of the enemy. The Britons made again an application to Rome, and again obtained the assistance of a legion, which proved effectual for their relief. But the Romans, reduced to extremities at home, and fatigued with these distant expeditions, informed the Britons, that they must no longer look to

them for succour; exhorted them to arm in their own defence, and urged, that as they were now their own masters, it became them to protect by their valour that independence, which their ancient lords had conferred upon them. That they might leave the island with a better grace, the Romans assisted them in erecting anew the wall of Severus, which was built entirely of stone, and which the Britons had not at that time artificers skilful enough to repair.* And having done this last good office to the inhabitants, they bid a final adieu to Britain about the year 476 according to Camden, or 479 according to Sir Peter Leycester's computation, after being masters of the more considerable part of it during the course of four centuries. From this period, it does not appear that the Roman state took any further interest in the affairs of Britain. It is true, that by this relinquishment our ancestors gained an independence, but it was a boon they were neither prepared to enjoy nor defend. They were released from a subjection which time had rendered tolerable, if not acceptable, but they were also deprived of that protection which the Roman arms were alone capable of affording.

* Stow, in his Survey of London, says, that the first Englishman who *invented stone walls*, was one Bennett, a monk of Wirral, at the commencement of the seventh century. If this be correct, the Romans must have been very tenacious in preserving the secret of masonry, or our British ancestors exceedingly dull in acquiring the art.



Introduction of Christianity into Britain.

ALTHOUGH this article has no absolute claim to notice in a local history, yet its importance will plead for and justify a short dissertation. It is generally found that the political transactions of nations, or smaller communities, which are strongly characterised by violence, cruelty, or superstition, or by the opposites of these, derive their complexion from the force of those theological or moral principles which have obtained, and the degree of influence those principles have acquired over the mind. Thus the pagan nations, of which our country formed a portion, at the time of the Roman invasion, unilluminated by the sun of righteousness, were sunk in the grossest species of idolatry, and their practice was correspondent to the barbarity of their tenets. Cruelty, sensuality, avarice, and selfishness, are the necessary concomitants of the ignorance of the true God; and it may be confidently maintained that no country could stand in greater need of the light of christianity than Britain. Whatever pains have been employed to elevate the character of the ancient Britons, and their Druid sages, it will be found, on a fair investigation, that their habitations were habitations of cruelty; that the most diabolical passions predominated among them; and that they were addicted to the most nefarious practices, promoted by the system of superstition which prevailed among them. But it is highly gratifying to the pious mind to reflect, that we have credible documents from which to satisfy our inquiries, that our native isle was visited, at an early period, with the bright beams of evangelical truth. It is not, however, to be inferred, that the immediate consequence of the introduction of christianity among any people, although productive of the greatest blessings to individuals, would at once effect the conversion of whole nations. As it regarded

our own country, christianity had to contend against the profoundest ignorance, the most deep-rooted prejudices, and the vilest impurities; and besides, the religion of Jesus Christ was not only not patronized by our Roman rulers, but for the space of three centuries met with violent opposition, and even persecution. Nevertheless, the grain of mustard-seed was early planted in our country; and although its healthful growth was long protracted by the ungenial blasts of human policy, prejudice, and ignorance, yet in the lapse of time it has taken deep root, and become a great tree, under the luxuriant branches of which all the heathen, yea and christianized nations of the world, find security and protection. Our country has become the JERUSALEM of the earth, from which the word of life is going forth to every continent and to every shore.

But what I here propose, is to offer a few brief remarks on the early propagation of the christian faith in Britain; and, brief they necessarily must be, especially as I am not without my fears, that some of my readers may think the *shortest* sketch too *long*, as having no connexion with the proposed object of this work. I hope, however, I may be allowed, in this instance, without offence, to adopt my own view, scrupulously keeping in mind my promise of brevity.

Several of our Romish writers have maintained, that Joseph of Arimathea, noted by the evangelists for having deposited the body of Christ in his own sepulchre, was the honoured instrument, in company with eleven other missionaries, of planting christianity in our island, about the year A. D. 63; that he took up his residence at Glastonbury, where lands were given to him and his companions, and that he there established the first religious institution. This hypothesis was not promulgated, as Dr. Stillingfleet affirms, till after the Norman conquest, when the monasteries, in order to rank high, and claim exemption from the jurisdiction of their respective bishops, vied with each other, as to the antiquity of their several institutions. The monks of Glastonbury, in order to claim

precedence, invented the fiction of Joseph of Arimathea and his companions, that they might be deemed worthy of the honour due to the spot where an apostolic man first planted the christian religion in Britain.

A similar class of writers with the above, without any support from primitive antiquity have very incongruously put in a claim for St. Peter, as the apostle of Britain; but the absurdity of this tale, advanced first by *Simon Metaphrastes* of Constantinople, who lived about A. D. 900, has been sufficiently exposed by Goodwin, and by Usher, and also by Stillingfleet. Baronius, and others of the church of Rome, have advocated St. Peter's coming to Britain, in order to enhance, agreeably to their notions, the honour of the prince of the apostles, and to make this island indebted to the Romans for its first knowledge of christianity.

That St. Paul came to Britain to promulgate the gospel among our ancestors has been maintained, and with great plausibility, by many of our best writers, particularly by Bishop Stillingfleet, and Bishop Burgess. St. Paul was the apostle of the Gentiles, and it was his ardent desire to spread the gospel among all nations; and when he was delivered from the hands of his persecutors at Rome, after his appearing before Nero the first time, he expresseth himself thus, in writing to his beloved son Timothy:—"The Lord stood with me, and strengthened me; that, by me, the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear." This would seem to imply, that, in consequence of the apostle's release, the gospel was preached by him in new places and remote regions; and in particular, to make any thing for the present argument, that his labours extended to the west of Europe. That St. Paul intended to visit Spain, we know from what is said in his epistle to the Romans; and it is argued that such a journey was practicable, as he had a sufficient space of time to accomplish that purpose; and, in connection with it, to preach also in Gaul and Britain. The time that must have elapsed from his first release to his second imprisonment, is stated to be fully

adequate to such an undertaking. In proof that the apostle took such a western journey, the testimony of Clemens Romanus is produced; he was St. Paul's companion, and may be supposed to have been well acquainted with his travels in propagating the gospel. He affirms, that "St. Paul having taught righteousness to the whole world, and having travelled to the utmost bounds of the west, suffered martyrdom, and went to the holy place, being an illustrious example of patient suffering." This passage, especially when taken in connection with other ancient testimonies, is considered as conclusive. Theodoret asserts, that the apostle brought salvation to the islands which lie on the sea, having just before mentioned Spain; so that there is every probability, says Bishop Burgess, that he could mean no other than the British islands. St. Jerom affirms, "that St. Paul, having been in Spain, went from one ocean to another, imitating the motion and the course of the sun of righteousness, of whom it is said, that His going forth is from the end of heaven, and His circuit unto the ends of it; and that his diligence in preaching extended as far as the earth itself." In another place he saith, that St. Paul, "after his imprisonment, preached the gospel in the western parts;" which is equivalent with the manner of Clemens's expressing himself, that the apostle travelled to the bounds, or boundary of the west.

Another conjecture is, that christianity was introduced into this country by the family of Caractacus, and other captives, on their return from Rome. It is certain that this prince was in that city at the same time as St. Paul, to whom all persons had access, and we know that by his preaching and exhortations, numbers were converted to the faith. It is hardly possible that the captive prince, who had excited the admiration of the imperial tribunal, by his heroic magnanimity, should remain unknown to the apostle; nor is it easy to conceive, that the latter, always actively alive to the interests of his divine master, should conceal from so important and interesting a character, the blessings of the gospel. The conjecture, therefore, is very probable, that when the captive Britons

returned to their own country, they had become acquainted with the doctrines of the cross, and being so, would be anxious to communicate a knowledge of the truth to their heathenish countrymen. This hypothesis is strengthened by some historical notices, handed down to us in the form of triades, but the limits I have prescribed for this subject will not allow me to enter into particulars.

But, although it be allowed that we cannot approach to certainty as to the individuals who first brought to Britain the joyful tidings of salvation, we have indubitable evidence of the fact, that Christianity was very early introduced into this country. The following important testimonies to this truth, it is presumed, will be thought quite conclusive :—

1. That of *Tertullian*, who flourished about the middle of the second century. In his book, written against the Jews, chap vii. speaking on the words of the psalmist, *Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world* ; he says, “In whom have all the nations of the earth believed, but in Christ? Not only Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Lybia and Cyrene, and the strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, but also all the boundaries of the Spaniards, and *those parts of BRITAIN* inaccessible to the Romans.”

2. The learned and ingenious *Origen*, who flourished about A.D. 220, is respectable authority ; and he has a passage to our purpose. In his fourth homily on Ezekiel, speaking of the prophecies which the Jews allowed to refer to the advent of the Messiah, and particularly on the words, *The whole earth shall shout for joy*, he says, “The miserable Jews acknowledge that this is spoken of the presence of Christ ; but they are stupidly ignorant of the person, though they see the words fulfilled. *When*, before the advent of Christ, did the *land of Britain* agree in the worship of one God ? When did the land of the Moors ? When did the whole globe at once agree in

this ? But now, on account of the churches which are spread to the uttermost bounds of the world, the whole earth, with rejoicing, invokes the God of Israel."

3. *Arnobius*, who flourished about A.D. 306, and was the author of many learned works, and an eminent defender of the Christian religion. This father, in treating of the 147th psalm, says, "That whereas for so many ages, the true God was known among those of Judea alone ; now, He is known to the Indians to the East, and the Britons to the West."

4. *St. Chrysostom*, that eloquent orator, the primate of Constantinople, who flourished about A.D. 400, after speaking of the general spread of Christianity among all nations, exclaims, "What shall I say? even beyond our habitable world: for the islands of Britain, which are situated beyond our sea, in the very ocean itself, have felt the power of the word ; and even there churches are built, and altars erected." Christianity, at this period, had been for some time well known in Britain.

5. But we have no testimony more explicit than that of *Theodoret*, who flourished A.D. 423. "Those our fishermen, and publicans, and our tent-makers," says he, reciting with exultation the labours of the apostles, "have propagated the gospel among all nations: not only among the Romans, and they who are subjects of the Roman empire, but the Scythians, and the Sauromatæ, the Indians, also the Ethiopians, the Persians, the Hyrcani, the *Barrons*, the *Cimmerii*, and the Germans ; so that it may be said, in one word, that all the different nations of mankind have received the laws of the crucified." This declaration of so eminent a person as Theodoret, evinces it to have been the general belief in his days, that the Britons had received the gospel from the days of the apostles.

6. But the authority of *Eusebius*, with whose testimony I shall conclude the subject, should carry great weight with it. This venerable man was bishop of Cesarea, and celebrated for his writings ; and in particular for his ecclesiastical history. He considered it a striking

evidence of the truth of Christianity, that the apostles had preached the gospel with so great success, in so many countries and regions of the globe so widely remote from each other. The apostles, he argues, could be no impostors: "For although it were possible for such men to deceive their neighbours and countrymen with an improbable tale; yet, what madness were it for such illiterate persons, who understood only their mother tongue, to go about to deceive the world, by preaching this doctrine in the remotest cities and countries?" Having then named the Romans, Persians, Armenians, Parthians, Indians, and Scythians, he adds, "particularly, that some of them passed over the ocean to the British Isles." Such a position could not be advanced by so learned and well informed a person as Eusebius without possessing sufficient grounds for what he confidently affirmed. This excellent bishop was the intimate friend of the emperor Constantine, and had every opportunity of examining public records and documents, to satisfy himself on subjects of that nature. We may therefore infer, without danger of being deceived, that it was the generally received opinion in that age, that Britain was one of the countries which was favoured with the light of the gospel in the age of the apostles. Thus all antiquity bears testimony to the fulfilment of the prediction and promise of our Lord, respecting the general spread of the gospel by the ministry of the apostles and their coadjutors.

From the above short abstract,* it is more than probable that there were with us converts to the Christian faith, during most of the period that the Romans were stationed here; and it is very likely, that towards the latter end of their residence, many of the soldiers in the

* For a more circumstantial account of the introduction of the gospel into Britain, the reader is referred to the *Horeæ Britannicæ* of Mr. J. Hughes, 2 vol. 8vo. from which the chief part of the preceding article is abridged. As that excellent work is out of print, I hope the ingenious author, who is now employed in his sacred vocation at Nantwich, will receive that degree of encouragement from the public, which will justify him in putting to the press a second edition.

legions had embraced Christianity ; particularly as the religion of Christ was then professed by, and under the protection of the emperors. We have but few early authentic records, to direct our researches as to the progress made in the country by the early professors of the Christian faith, but if the conjecture be correct, that it was first brought over to the natives by means of the family of Caractacus, it is natural to infer that Christianity would gradually spread among the Silures, and the Demetæ, and the contiguous tribes of the Cædii of Somersetshire ; as well as the Ordovices of North Wales, and the Cornavii of Shropshire and Cheshire. But speculations of this description would be endless ; in after periods our lights become more clear and luminous, and it is only by these we can acquire any tolerable degree of certainty.



Saxon Chester.

FROM THE DEPARTURE OF THE ROMANS OUT OF BRITAIN, TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

No sooner had the Roman legions taken their final departure from Britain, than the inhabitants, unaccustomed to the perils of war, and the cares of civil government, found themselves incapable of forming or executing any measures for resisting the Picts and Scots, who had long annoyed the country, even before they were left to their own defence. These barbarians, encouraged by the absence of the Romans, invaded England, and carried desolation and rapine wherever they came. In this emergency, the dejected Britons invited over a body of Saxons, numerous wandering tribes of whom were scattered over Germany, to assist them against their enemies, for which service they stipulated to pay them a certain subsidy. The invitation was promptly complied with, or rather seized with avidity, as, while it afforded an employment congenial with their inclinations and habits, held out a prospect of rich spoils that would gratify their avarice. About the year 449 or 450, two Saxon chiefs, Hengist and Horsa, who were also brothers, landed in the isle of Thanet, with about 1000 of their countrymen, and immediately marched to the defence of the Britons. The Picts and Scots were unable to resist the valour of these auxiliaries, and the Britons, applauding their own wisdom in calling over the Saxons, hoped thenceforth to enjoy peace and security, under the powerful protection of that warlike people. But these strangers, perceiving the weakness and imbecility of their degenerate allies, began soon to entertain the intention of conquering them, and seizing the country as the reward of their enterprise.

With these views, numerous bodies of Saxons were landed on our shores; and the Britons, now aware of their perfidy, prepared for resistance. Numerous battles were fought, with various success; but the final issue was the subjugation of the aborigines. It is no part of my business to enter into the general history of the country; it is sufficient for my present purpose to observe, that the conquest of the Saxons, and their subsequent quarrels among themselves, led to the establishment of the heptarchy, or seven distinct kingdoms in England, which existed till they were all swallowed up in one by that of the West-Saxons, under Egbert, about the year 827, great numbers of the Britons taking shelter in Wales, and the county of Cornwall.

But to revert more immediately to the concerns of Chester. It is not to be supposed, that when the Romans left us, the city was totally deserted; it remained occupied by the descendants of the legionaries, who partook of the same privileges, and were probably a numerous body. Numbers likewise, who had married with the native islanders, and embraced civil employments, in all likelihood staid behind, after the final abdication of the Roman legions. After this, the city fell under the government of the Britons, or Welshmen, with whom it remained for several centuries, except during one or two short intervals. Several of our old chroniclers have laboured to induce a persuasion, that the city was distinguished as the seat of learning and knowledge, in the early part of the Saxon dominion in Britain. No evidence can be produced of this; but it is certainly probable that the inhabitants had acquired a military discipline from the resident legion, very superior to that of the other Britons, by which, with the strength of the Roman works at Chester, and the wild mountains behind it, they were enabled to hold the Saxons at defiance, long after the complete reduction of their neighbours. It was considered to be the capital city of *Venedotia*, or North Wales, and so continued until the close of the heptarchy.

The first event of any note relating to Chester, which I find recorded in history, is the defeat of the Britons under its walls, and the capture of the city by Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, in 607; when he came to avenge the quarrel of St. Augustine, the first archbishop of Canterbury, to whose metropolitan jurisdiction the British monks had refused to submit. The Northumbrian monarch fell in with this pious corps, consisting of twelve hundred,* and understanding that they were collected together to offer up their prayers to heaven for his discomfiture, he put them all to the sword without mercy. *Brochwel Ysgythroc*, King of Powis, who defended the city, sustained a complete overthrow, and, as the Saxon Chronicle informs us, escaped with only about fifty men. The city appears to have been recovered ere long by its old masters; for we are told that in the year 613, the Britons held an assembly at Chester, on which occasion, as Hollingshed reports, they elected Cadwan to be their King; and Harding adds, that Cadwal, son and successor of Cadwan, was also crowned King of the Britons here.

These two events, as well as the sitting of a parliament, with a few years of difference in the chronology, have been celebrated by the latter historian in heroic verse, which I take the liberty of transcribing, not indeed for the elegance of the poetry, but as it records an historical fact:—

“ In the same year 603, of Christ’s incarnation
The Britains all did set their parliament
At Caerleon, by good information;
Caerlegio Chester bright as some men meant
Where they did chuse Cadwan to be their king,
To defend them from their foes warring.”

* The number of monks stated to have been slaughtered by the Northumbrians, upon this occasion; yet I have seen it alleged by one of our old writers, that *twelve* hundred was written by mistake for *two* hundred. But we are assured by the venerable Bede, that the monks of that monastery were so numerous, that they were divided into seven communities, each of which consisted of about three hundred, who were under the government of so many provosts, or rulers, and that they all maintained themselves by the labour of their hands.

And again :—

“ Cadwal, son of king Cadwan,
After his father had reigned 13. years,
Was crowned at Westchester, as a man
Of Britain, all as clearly did appear
The year of Christ 600. and is clear
That reigned as well 60. year and one,
Above all kings, as sovereign of each one.”

From this period to the close of the heptarchy, we are left unacquainted with the history of Chester ; none of our writers of credit having supplied the wide hiatus with a solitary transaction of interest, nor, what is more wonderful, have any of our dubious historians furnished us with an incredible legend. The fact, however, of Egbert having united the sole monarchy in his own person about the year 828, is indisputably attested, as well as that the Mercian kingdom, in which the city was situated, was the last of the six which he conquered. The subjection of Chester occurred, as Mr. Pennant assures us, during the reign of the British prince Mervyn and his wife Eyslht, which contracted the limits of Wales for the remainder of its independent existence.

In a few years after (895), the city underwent a heavy calamity from the predatory incursions of the Danes. These pirates, the scourge of the kingdom, meeting with a severe defeat by Alfred the Great, retreated before him ; and in their flight, collecting vast numbers of their countrymen, committing the care of their wives, their ships and their booty to the East Angles, marched night and day to secure quarters in the west, and arrived at Chester. King Alfred's forces arrived too late to prevent their seizing the fortress ; but by destroying all the cattle and corn in the neighbourhood, and intercepting their provisions, they drove them to such extremities, that they were obliged to feed upon horse-flesh, and were glad to quit the city, and make their escape into North Wales.

After the evacuation of the city by the Danes, it remained in a ruinous condition, until about 908 or 909, when Ethelred, Duke of Mercia, and Ethelfleda, his wife,

became its distinguished patrons and benefactors. Of this lady, Ingulphus and Malmesbury relate, that after the birth of her first child, which was a daughter, she was "so much astonished at the pain, that ever after, she refrained the embraces of her husband for almost forty years, protesting often, that it was not fit for a king's daughter to be given to a pleasure that brought so much pain along with it; and thereupon grew an heroic virago, like the ancient Amazons, as if she had changed her sex, as well as her mind." She was the undegenerate daughter of the great Alfred, and sister of Edward, king of England. She kept on the best terms with her husband; they united in all acts of munificence and piety; restored cities, founded abbies, and removed to more suitable places the bones of long-departed saints. After the death of her husband, in 912, she assumed the government of the Mercian earldom, and the command of the army. She became so celebrated for her valour, that the effeminate titles of *lady* or *queen* were thought unworthy of her; she received in addition those of *lord* and *king*. Huntington celebrates her virtues in the following lines:—

"O *Elfreda* potens, O terror virgo virorum
 Victrix naturæ, nomine digna viri.
 Tu quo splendidior fieres, natura puellam,
 Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri.
 Te mutare decet, sed solum nomine sexus,
 Tu *Regina* potens, *Rexque* trophæa parans,
 Nec jam Cæsarei tantum meruere triumphi,
 Cæsare splendidior virgo virago vale."

Of the above tributary stanzas, Mr. Pennant has given us the following translation, under the anonymous signature of R. W.

"Elfreda, terror of mankind,
 Nature, for ever unconfin'd,
 Stamp't thee in woman's tender frame,
 Tho' worthy of a hero's name.
 Thee, thee alone, the muse shall sing,
 Dread *empress*, and victorious *king*!
 E'en Cæsar's conquests were outdone,
 By thee, illustrious *Amazon*!

The heroine, says Mr. Pennant, appears well to have merited this eulogium. Her abilities and activity were perpetually exerted in the service of her country. She erected a castle at Sceargate; another at Briege, the modern Bridgnorth; a third at Tamworth; a fourth at Stafford; a fifth at Eddisbury, long known as the chamber of the forest, in Cheshire; a sixth at Warwick; a seventh at Chirbury; an eighth at Wedsborough, in Staffordshire; and a ninth at Runcorn, in Cheshire. She took Brecknock, in South Wales, and made its queen prisoner; she stormed Derby, but lost four *Thanes* within the place. But what has more especially endeared the memory of this lady to us, is, that she restored and beautified Chester, after its desolation by the barbarians, and rebuilt the walls, which had then fallen into great decay. It is affirmed by Matthew of Westminster, and the Polychronicon, that she "inclosed the city with *new* walls, and made it nigh such two as it was before; so that the castle that was sometime by the water without the walls, is now in the town within the walls." This latter description is, however, rejected by our sober-minded historians, and is obviously fabulous, as the form of the walls at the present day clearly denote that they occupy the same site as those of the Roman town. Nor is this exaggeration necessary, in order to support Elfreda's claim to our grateful remembrance. Death put an end to her glorious career, at Tamworth, in the summer of 922, from whence her body was conveyed to Gloucester and interred. Her loss was regretted by the whole kingdom, and by none so sensibly felt as by her brother Edward, for she was as useful to that wise prince in the cabinet as in the field. The celebrity of this lady, and the frequent mention of her in the Mercian history will, it is presumed, be a sufficient apology for this brief account of her.*

King Edgar, says Mr. Pennant, made this port one

* In treating of the foundation of the abbey of St. Werburgh, I shall again have occasion to advert to the pious munificence of Elfreda, and her consort.

of the stations in his annual circumnavigation of his dominions. About the year 971, as say some, or as others, 973, he visited Chester, attended by his court, and a considerable portion of his military and naval forces. Here he made a league with six several tributary kings, who engaged to assist him by sea and land in all his undertakings.* The Saxon Chronicle, and Henry of Huntington,

* Indebted as we always have been for the defence of our country to our naval superiority, every individual who has contributed to its advancement deserves the homage of unbounded gratitude. In this point of view, king Edgar stands pre-eminently distinguished; and in quoting the following sketch, from Campbell's History of British Admirals, I am induced to hope, I shall gratify many of my readers, particularly such as are not acquainted with that interesting work.—“Edgar applied himself, from the beginning of his reign, to the raising a mighty maritime force, and in keeping in due subjection all the petty princes. In one thing only he was blameable, that he gave too much into foreign customs, and indulged the Danes in living promiscuously with his own people; which gave them an opportunity of knowing thoroughly the state of all parts of the nation, of which they made a very bad use in succeeding times. In all probability he was led into this error by his love to peace, which indeed he enjoyed much more than any of his ancestors had done. But he enjoyed it as a king of this island ought to enjoy it; not in a lazy fruition of pleasure, unworthy of a prince; but by assiduously applying himself to affairs of state, and by an activity of which few other kings are capable, even in times of the greatest danger. But it is necessary to enter into particulars, since we are come to that king who most clearly vindicated his right to the dominion of the sea, and who valued himself on his having justly acquired the truly glorious title of Protector of Commerce. All writers agree, that his fleet was far superior to that of any of his predecessors, as well as much more powerful than those of all the other European princes put together; but they are by no means of the same mind as to the number of ships of which it was composed. Some fix it at three thousand six hundred; others at four thousand; and there wants not authority to carry it so high as four thousand eight hundred. However, the first seems to be the most probable number, and, therefore, to it we shall keep. These ships he divided into three fleets, each of twelve hundred sail, and them he constantly stationed; one on the east, another on the west, and the third on the north coast of the kingdom; neither was he satisfied with barely making such a provision; he would likewise see that it answered the end for which he intended it. In order to this, every year, after Easter, he went on board the fleet stationed on the eastern coast; and sailing west, he scoured all the channels, looked into every creek and bay from the Thames mouth to the land's end in Cornwall; then, quitting these ships, he went on board the western fleet, with which, steering his course to the northward, he did the like, not only on the English and Scots coasts, but also on those of Ireland and the Hebrides, which lie between them and Britain; then, meeting the northern fleet, he sailed in it to the Thames mouth. Thus surrounding the island

state their number to be six, but Higden, the monk of St. Werburgh, probably to do greater honour to his native city, makes the number of Reguli eight, and adds, that Edgar, one day entering his barge, assumed the helm, and made his tributaries row him from the palace which stood in a field which still bears his name, up the Dee, to the church of St. John, and from thence back to his palace. Webb, in the Vale Royal, inclines to the higher

every summer, he rendered any invasion impracticable, kept his sailors in continual exercise, and effectually asserted his sovereignty over the sea. As a further proof of this, he once held his court at Chester; where, when all his feudatory princes had assembled in order to do him homage, he caused them to enter a barge, and seating four on the one side and four on the other, they rowed, while he steered the helm; passing thus in triumph on the river Dee, from his palace to the monastery of St. John, where he landed, and received their oaths to be faithful vassals, and to defend his rights by land and by sea; and then, having made a speech to them, he returned to his barge, and passed in the same manner back to his palace. When the ceremony was over, the king was pleased to say, that his successors might justly glory in the title of kings of the English; since, by this solemn act, he had set their prerogative above dispute. In the winter, he travelled by land through all parts of his dominions, to see that justice was duly administered, to prevent his nobles from becoming oppressors, and to protect the meanest people from suffering wrong. These were the acts by which he secured tranquillity to himself; while he kept foreigners in awe, and his subjects in quiet. By being always ready for war, he avoided it; so that in his whole reign there happened but one disturbance, and that through the intemperate fury of the Britons, who while he was in the north, committed great disorders in the west. On his return, he entered their country with a great army; and that they might feel the effects of plundering, suffered his soldiers to take whatever they could find: but, when he saw the people reduced to extreme misery, he rewarded his soldiers out of his own coffers, and obliged them to restore the spoils; by which he left those whom he found rebels, the most affectionate of all his subjects. Well, therefore, might our ancient historians boast, as they did, of this prince; and say, that he was comparable to any of the heroes of antiquity. In truth, he far surpassed them; for whereas many of them became famous by acts of rapine and robbery, he established his reputation on a nobler foundation— that of reigning sixteen years without a thief found in his dominions or land, or a pirate heard of at sea. One thing more I must mention, as being much to my purpose, though slighted by many of our modern writers. It is the preamble of a decree of his, made in the fourteenth year of his reign, wherein his style runs thus:—“*Ego Edgarus, totius Albionis Basileus necnon maritimum seu insularum regum circumhabitantium.*” That is, “I Edgar, monarch of all Albion, and sovereign over all the princes of the adjacent isles,” &c. which plainly asserts his naval dominion. As he lived, so he died, in peace, and full of glory.”

number, observing, that Selden, Camden, and other writers, "toucheth the memory of King Edgar's pompous show he made at Chester in the 12th year of his reign, when coming thither after his conquest of North Wales, caused his barge to be rowed by eight kings upon the river Dee, himself sitting at the helm." The same writer, not content with a simple record of the fact, embellishes the story with a poetical garb, in the following lines, which, he says, he found ready written to his hand, thus:—

"Edgar, England's famous king, of nations great commander,
About the Northern British coasts did pass the seas with wonder;
With navy great he did at last the City of Legions enter,
To whom eight other petty kings their homage there did tender.
The first of them was ——— call'd, and king of Scots was then,
And Malcolm of Cumberland, with Macon, king of Man.
The other five was called thus ——— South Wales ruling,
Sfrefth and Huall, both of them all North Wales then commanding:
King James, a man of great renown, did Galloway command,
And Inkil, then a famous king, did rule all Cumberland.
All these at Edgar's high command, made haste, and then did swear,
To serve him truly, sea and land, and put their foes in fear.
These all at once a barge did take, when Edgar took the helm,
And plac'd the rest at oar each one, he being then supreme,
Did guide his course, they rowing hard upon the river Dee,
Thereby he well might boast himself the English king to be.
Thus by so many under kings, which he had then ordain'd,
His royal state and dignity with honor was maintain'd."

Edgar died in the year 975, at the early age of thirty-three, intermingling many blemishes in his generally excellent character.

In the following century, the invasions of the Danes were conducted with so much policy, as to induce the factious and traitorous nobility of England, to rise and favour their designs. Edmund, surnamed Ironsides, took arms to relieve his distressed country, and carried the war into the northern counties, among which lay the principal partizans of the invaders, whose country he ravaged, in resentment of their treason. The city of Chester is mentioned among those places which suffered by this expedition. But Edmund, by the perfidiousness of his own people, was constrained to leave both the

Mercian and Northumberland kingdoms in possession of Canute; who, in the famous partition of England between these rival princes, in 1016, retained those parts for his own share.

On the restoration of the Saxon line, the city reverted, with the rest of the Mercian province, to its old masters. Leofric, a munificent nobleman, was at that time governor of Mercia, and earl of Chester. These earls were not created, but merely official. He died 1057, and was succeeded by his son Algar, or Algar, a turbulent nobleman, who engaging in rebellion, aided by the Welsh prince Gryffydd ap Llewelyn, was twice deprived of his earldom, and was once pardoned. After his second deprivation, he obtained again the province by dint of arms, assisted by Gryffydd and a Norwegian fleet. He died soon afterwards, and was interred at Coventry, where the earls of Mercia had their principal seat. His eldest son succeeded, in whom ended the race of earls of Saxon blood.* After the decisive battle of Hastings, he fled,

* It may not be amiss here to explain the title of *Earl*, under the Saxon monarchy; and for this purpose I know of no authority more likely to be correct, than that of our own antiquary, Sir Peter Leycester. He says, that *Leofric* (1018), was the first governor of Mercia, who was styled in express words, *Earl of Chester*. More antiently, they were denominated *Dukes of Mercia*; but from the former period downwards, they were uniformly known as *Comites Mercia*. Under the Saxons, the subordinate titles of temporal honour, were those of *Ethelings*, *Ealdorman*, and *Thane*. The *Thanes* were answerable to our Barons; the *Ealdormen* were such as had provinces or counties under their government, and signifies as much as *Senior*, or *Senator*, in Latin, expressed sometimes by *Subregulus*, *Regulus*, *Patricius*, *Princeps*, *Dux*; and in Saxon, by *Heretoga*; sometimes by *Comes*, and *Consul*. *Ethelings* was a title attributed to those of the blood royal, sons and brothers of the king, and signifies as much as *nobly born*.—About king Ethelstan's reign, the word *Earl* was received in England as a synonymy to *Etheling*, and so denoted the sons or brothers of the king, and not an *Earl*, as it is this day used for a special dignity. The word *Earl* came into England with the Danes, in whose language, *Erlig*, at this day, signifies as much as *noble*, or *honourable*. After the Danish power increased in England under king Canute, the name of *Earl* was fixed on those who before were called *Ealdormen*, and the title of *Etheling* no more expressed by the Saxons word *Earl*. The title of *Ealdorman* continued until about the year 1020, expressed by these words in Latin, *Duces*, *Principes*, *Comites*, &c. But from the Norman conquest, *Earl* and *Comes* most usually have translated each

with his brother Morcar, earl of Northumberland, to London, with a view of obtaining the crown, vacant by the death of Harold. Being disappointed in his hopes, he took his sister Alghitha, widow to the slain monarch, and sent her to Chester; and endeavoured to escape to Malcolm, King of Scotland, but was intercepted by the way and slain.

The last monarch of the Saxon line, who wore the British crown, was Harold; he ascended the throne early in 1066, and on the 14th of October, in the same year, he surrendered it with his life. The great and decisive victory of Hastings, was gained by William, duke of Normandy, after a battle which was fought from morning till sun-set, and which seemed worthy, by the heroic valour displayed by both armies, and by both commanders, to decide the fate of a mighty kingdom. William had three horses killed under him; and there fell near fifteen thousand men on the side of the Normans. The loss was still more considerable on the part of the vanquished; besides the death of the king, and his two brothers. The dead body of Harold was brought to William, and was generously restored without ransom to his mother,*

other. Certain it is, that these titles were only officiatory, or ministerial in those ages, and were sometimes feudal, and sometimes conferred at the pleasure of the prince. But the title of *Dux*, or *Duke*, became not a peculiar title of place and dignity with us in England, as it is now used, before 11th Edward III. 1337, when the Black Prince was created Duke of Cornwall.

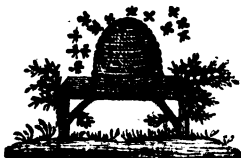
* Giraldus Cambrensis mentions it as the tradition of Chester, that Harold, having survived his wounds at the battle of Hastings, spent the remainder of his days as an anchorite, in a cell near St. John's church in that city. The same tradition is mentioned by John Bromton, who adds, that his tomb was shewn in the middle of the area behind the cross of St. John's church; that there were those who asserted that he was yet alive when King Henry I. returned through Chester from Wales, and that he had an interview with that monarch. The historian himself, however, inclines to the better accredited fact, that King Harold died in battle, and was buried at Waltham. Henry de Knighton and other historians relate, that Queen Alghitha, Harold's consort, after the conqueror's success, was for a while removed to Chester, as a place of security by her brothers Edwin and Earl Morcar. The above-mentioned historian, Giraldus, relates a tradition also, that Henry, Emperor of Germany, spent the latter part of his days as a hermit in a desert place near Chester, and was buried in that city, having confessed his rank when on

according to our historian, Hume; but Sharon Turner, in his history of the Anglo-Saxons, says, that his mother offered the weight of the body in gold, for the privilege of burying it; but that she was denied the

the point of death. Camden, in noticing this tradition, speaks of Henry IV. as the Emperor of whom it was told; but all the circumstances mentioned by Giraldus, who only calls him "*Imperatorem Romanum Henricum*," apply to Henry V. There has been a tradition of very old standing, that this emperor led a very retired life under the borrowed name of *Godescallus*, or *Godstallus*; and a lane near the Cathedral, called *Godstall-lane*, is said to have obtained that appellation from him. In an ancient Chronicle, called the Red Book of the abbey of Chester was the following passage, cited in Woodnoth's Collections, which seems to give some countenance to these traditions: "A^o. 1110, *Rex Henricus dedit filiam suam Godescallo imperatori Alemans, qui nunc Cestrie jacet*. Notwithstanding the authority of this passage, and that the time when Giraldus Cambrensis found the tradition current at Chester, was but about sixty years after the death of Henry V. Emperor of Germany, yet it seems evident from the best historians, that it was wholly void, unless we suppose that some person of the name of *Godescallus* or *Godestallus*, really lived and died at Chester, but that the circumstance of his having been emperor of Germany was a fiction. It is a fact well attested, that the Emperor Henry V. died at Utrecht, and that our monarch Henry I. who was then in Normandy, sent immediately for his daughter Maud, the Empress, and brought her with him to England. But whatever little credit is due to the legend of Giraldus, of this Emperor's having lived and died in this city, it is certain that the name he gives to the supposed place of his abode, was in existence not only in the historian's time, but for several centuries afterwards; and the mention of this said lane by those who followed Giraldus, is always coupled with the same story. Thus, in a survey of the streets of Chester, temp. Edward III. (Harl. MSS. No. 2111) *Godstall*, or *St. Godstall-lane*, is described as near the wall on the north side of Eastgate-street, adjoining the church-yard of St. Werburgh, and it is said to have been the habitation of one *Godescallus*, who having been an Emperor, led in his latter days a holy and religious life, and died at Chester. And Webb, in the Vale Royal, written more than 200 years ago, having described Werburgh's-lane, proceeds as follows:—"Our ancient surveys describe two other lanes on the same side of Eastgate-street, going towards the foresaid church-yard (Werburgh's) one called *Peen-land*, and the other called *Godstall's-lane*, and they are bounded by the names of the dwellers in the tenements next to them; which names, together with the lanes themselves, are quite worn out of use, but the places where they were, are now the soyl of other tenements. Yet let me not omit to remember, that the same *Godstall* or *Inodescall-lane* was supposed to be so called of the emperor of *Almaine* that lived here in this city a very holy life, but unknown who he was, till afterward his life and buriall in the Abbey Church made the city more famous."—One of the two lanes here described by Webb, probably occupied the present site of the house now held by Mr. Moulson, tobacconist, and the other, a space adjoining the walls, where the King's Arms Kitchen now stands.

melancholy satisfaction. Thus terminated the rule of the Saxons in England, after they had governed it for near six centuries, except during some short intervals, when the Danish monarchs occupied the country.

There is good reason to believe, that at the close of the Saxon period, the city of Chester was more numerously peopled, than it was about the twentieth year of Hugh Lupus' earldom. This fact is clearly ascertained from the great Domesday, the translation of an article of which will be given in a subsequent part of this work, from which it appears, that at the latter period, the number of houses guildable was 205 less than in the time of Edward the Confessor. We know of no historical data by which this declension in the population can be accounted for; but it is probable, that it was occasioned by numbers of the Welshmen, who had taken up their residence in the ancient capital, and who by long association were reconciled to the Saxon government, having retired to their own country, when the Normans took possession of the city. At all events, of this we are certain, that from the time of the conqueror's taking possession of the country, the Welsh uniformly manifested the most bitter hostility, and determined dislike to his government, until their final subjugation to the British crown.



Anglo-Saxon Government and Manners.

HAVING collected together all the historical events relative to Chester, up to the Norman conquest, we are approaching an epoch peculiarly distinguished in the annals of the city, in which it was elevated to be the metropolis of a local monarchy, and to exercise all the prerogatives of regal dignity. But before I enter upon this important branch of our history, I must be allowed to take a cursory glance at the government, manners, and polity of the Anglo-Saxons during their dominion in this country; for although Chester was not brought under their yoke till more than half the period of their residence here had expired, yet there is no doubt but the inhabitants of the latter were assimilated to them in these particulars, and especially as they were entirely under their subjection for upwards of two centuries.

Previous to the invasion of Britain, the Saxons, while in their own country, enjoyed great liberty, and imported to their settlement here an obstinate spirit of independence, as an invaluable blessing they had derived from their ancestors. Their leaders, in all their military expeditions, may rather be considered as chieftains, than acknowledged kings or princes, and possessed but a very limited authority, which was more delegated than assumed. The historian Hume, whose authority is adopted in this digression, says that the king, so far from being invested with arbitrary power, was only considered as the first among the citizens; his authority depended more on his personal qualifications than on his station; and he was even so far on a level with the people that a stated price was fixed for his head, and a legal fine was levied upon his murderer,

which, though proportionate to his station, and superior to that paid for the life of a subject, was a sensible mark of his subordination to the community. It is no difficult thing to imagine that a bold and daring people, under the restraint of no fixed laws, and uncultivated by science, would not be over strict in maintaining a regular succession of their princes. Though they paid great regard to the royal family, and yielded to it a decided superiority, they either had no rule, or none that was steadily observed, in filling the vacant throne; and present convenience in such a contingency, was more attended to than general principles. The crown was not elective; neither was there a regular plan traced by the constitution for supplying by the suffrages of the people, every vacancy made by the demise of the first magistrate. If any king left a son of an age and capacity fit for government, the young prince naturally stepped into the throne: if he was a minor, his uncle, or the next prince of the blood, was promoted to the government, and left the sceptre to his posterity; any sovereign taking previous measures with the leading men, had it greatly in his power to appoint a successor. All these changes, and indeed the ordinary administration of government, required the express concurrence, or at least the tacit acquiescence of the people; but possession, however obtained, was almost in all cases sufficient to secure obedience, and the idea of any right, which was once excluded, was but feeble and imperfect.

Our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon history is too limited to afford the means of tracing minutely their political usages; but it does appear pretty certain, that at all times, and in all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, there was a national council, called a *Wittenagemot*, or assembly of the wise men (for that is the import of the name), whose consent was requisite for enacting laws, and for ratifying the chief acts of administration. The preambles to all the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmond, Edgar, Ethelred, and Edward the Confessor; even those to the laws of Canute, though a kind of conqueror, put this matter beyond controversy.

and carry proofs everywhere of a limited and legal government. But who were the constituent members of this *Wittenagemot*, has not been determined with certainty by antiquaries. It is agreed that the bishops and abbots were an essential part; and it is also evident from the tenor of those ancient laws, that the *Wittenagemot* enacted statutes which regulated ecclesiastical as well as civil government. It also appears that the aldermen, or governors of counties, who after the Danish times were often called *earls*, were admitted into this council, and gave their consent to the public statutes. But besides the prelates and aldermen, there is also mention of the *wites*, or *wise-men*, as a component part of the *Wittenagemot*; but who *these* were, is not so clearly ascertained by the laws or the history of that period. Our monarchical writers maintain, that these *wites*, or *sapientes*, were the judges, or men learned in the law; while the popular party assert them to be representatives of the boroughs, or what we now call the commons. The expressions employed by all ancient historians, in adverting to this assembly, seem to contradict the latter supposition. The members are always called the *principes*, *satrapæ*, *magnates*, *proceres*; terms which seem to imply an aristocracy, and to exclude the commons. The boroughs also, from the low state of commerce, were so small and so poor, and the inhabitants lived in such dependence on the great men, that it seems no way probable they would be admitted as a part of the national council. But still it is necessary to suppose the assembly was composed of some other class, besides the prelates, abbots, aldermen, and judges; for as these were all appointed by the king, without some popular check to their influence, the crown must have speedily become absolute. It may therefore be reasonably concluded, that the more considerable proprietors of land were, without any election, constituent members of the national assembly; and there is reason to think, says Mr. Hume, that forty hydes, or between four and five thousand acres, was the estate requisite for entitling the possessor to this honourable privilege.

It is certain, that whatever we may determine concerning the constituent members of the Wittenagemot, in whom, with the King, the legislature resided, the Anglo-Saxon government, in the period preceding the Norman conquest, was become extremely aristocratical; the royal authority was very limited, and the people, even if admitted to that assembly, were of little weight and consideration. Instances are afforded us by historians, of the exorbitant power and riches of particular noblemen; and it could not but happen, especially after the dissolution of the heptarchy, when the residence of the monarch was remote from the provinces, that those great proprietors, who resided on their estates, would greatly augment their authority over their vassals and retainers, and over all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Among that military and turbulent people, so averse to commerce and the arts, and so little inured to industry, justice was commonly ill administered, and great oppression and violence seem to have prevailed. These disorders would be increased by the overgrown power of the aristocracy, and would in their turn contribute to increase it. Men, who could have no reliance on the guardianship of the laws, found their security in devoting themselves to the service of some chieftain, whose orders they were willing to obey, even to the disturbance of the government, or the injury of their neighbours, and who afforded them in return protection from any insult or injustice by strangers. Hence we find, by the extracts which Dr. Brady has given us from Domesday, that almost all the inhabitants, even of towns, had placed themselves under the clientship of some particular nobleman, whose patronage they purchased by annual payments, and whom they were obliged to consider as their sovereign, more than the king himself, or even their legislature. A client, though a freeman, was supposed so much to belong to his patron, that his murderer was obliged by law to pay a fine to the latter, as a compensation for his loss, in like manner as he paid a fine to the master for the murder of his slave. On the whole, notwithstanding the

seeming liberty, or rather licentiousness of the Anglo-Saxons, the great body, even of the free citizens, in those ages, really enjoyed much less liberty than where the execution of the laws is the most severe, and where subjects are reduced to the strictest subordination and dependence on the civil magistrate. The reason is derived from the excess itself of that liberty. Men must guard themselves at any price against insults and injuries; and where they receive not protection from the laws and magistrate, they will seek it by submission to superiors, and by herding in some private confederacy which acts under the direction of a powerful leader. And thus all anarchy is the immediate cause of tyranny, if not over the state, at least over many of the individuals. It appears that security was provided by the Saxon laws, to all members of the Wittenagemot, both in going and returning, *except they were notorious thieves and robbers.*

Of the several orders of men among the Anglo-Saxons, it is enough to say, that they were divided into three classes, the nobles, the free, and the slaves. There was no middle rank of men that could gradually mix with their superiors, and insensibly procure to themselves honour and distinction. The punishments inflicted by the criminal laws* were almost altogether of a pecuniary nature, and the moral guilt was measured by the quality of the individual against whom an offence was committed. The price of the king's head, or his weregild, as it was then called, was by law thirty thousand thrismas, near one thousand three hundred pounds of our money. The price of the prince's head was fifteen thousand thrismas; that of a bishop's or alderman's eight thousand; a sheriff's four thousand; a thane's or clergyman's two thousand; a ceorles two hundred and sixty-six.

It may not be unamusing to notice the value of money at that early period. The Saxon pound, as likewise that

* Camden says, that as to Polydore Virgil's assertion, that William the Conqueror first brought in the *jury of twelve*, there is nothing can be more false, for it is plain from Ethelred's laws, that trial by jury was used many years before that period.

which was coined for some centuries after the conquest, was near three times the weight of our present money; there were forty-eight shillings in the pound, and five pence in a shilling; consequently a Saxon shilling was near a fifth heavier than ours, and a Saxon penny near three times as heavy. As to the value of money in those times, compared to commodities, there are some, though not very certain means of computation. A sheep, by the laws of Athelstan, was estimated at a shilling; that is, fifteen-pence of our money. The fleece was two-fifths of the value of the whole sheep, much above its present estimation; and the reason probably was, that the Saxons, like the ancients, were little acquainted with any clothing but what was made of wool. Silk and cotton were quite unknown; linen was not much used. An ox was computed at six times the value of a sheep; a cow, at four. A horse was valued at about thirty-six shillings of our money, or thirty Saxon shillings; a mare, a third less. A man at three pounds. The board wages of a child the first year were eight shillings, together with a cow's pasture in summer, and an ox's in winter. William of Malmesbury mentions it as a remarkably high price that William Rufus gave fifteen marks for a horse, or about thirty pounds of our present money. Between the years 900 and 1000, Ednoth bought a hyde of land for about one hundred and eighteen shillings of present money; this was little more than a shilling an acre, which indeed appears to have been the usual price, as we may learn from other accounts. A palfrey was sold for twelve shillings about the year 966. The Saxon Chronicle tells us, that in the reign of Edward the Confessor there was the most terrible famine ever known; insomuch that the quarter of wheat rose to sixty pennies, or fifteen shillings of our present money; consequently it was as dear as if it now cost seven pounds ten shillings. This much exceeds the great famine in the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when a quarter of wheat was sold for four pounds.

With regard to the manners of the Anglo-Saxons, we can say little, but that they were in general a rude

uncultivated people, ignorant of letters, unskilled in the mechanical arts, untamed to submission under law and government, addicted to intemperance, riot, and disorder. Their best quality was their military courage, which yet was not supported by discipline or conduct. Their want of fidelity to the prince, or to any trust reposed in them, appears strongly in the history of their later period; and their want of humanity, in all their history. Even the Norman historians, notwithstanding the low state of the arts in their own country, speak of them as barbarians, when they mention the invasion made upon them by the Duke of Normandy.

Speaking of the latter days of the Saxon dominion in England, Stow thus describes the dress and manners of the inhabitants:—"The Englishmen were then apparelled in garments to the mid knee, their haire rounded, and their beards shaven, all save the upper lip, their armes adorned with golden bracelets, and their skin marked, painted, and printed; at meat they forced themselves to surfet, and dranke till they vomited. These last qualities they dealed to them that overcame them; but I would not you should thinke I speake these evils of all Englishmen, for I know that many of the cleargie, did simply observe the path of holinesse, and also of the lay people that did endeavour to serve God."

In a digression immediately following the Roman-Chester history, a brief account is given of the introduction of Christianity into Britain. Its progress, however, was very slow, and its extent greatly limited, during the wars that succeeded the Saxon invasion. In the year of grace 517, Pope Gregory gave a special commission to St. Augustine, with whom several other missionaries were associated, to preach the gospel here; and having succeeded in converting Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, resident in Kent, to the faith, he was constituted archbishop of Canterbury. The other kingdoms of the heptarchy, nominally at least, were successively

brought to the profession of the Christian religion, but they remained but little influenced by its divine precepts. Notwithstanding all the eulogiums bestowed by Romish writers on the character of Augustine, it does appear, that his zeal was inspired more by personal ambition, and a wish to aggrandise the church of Rome, than the eternal interests of those to whom he was sent as the ambassador of peace. This was clearly observable in his haughty demeanor towards the ancient British churches, of which several were in existence at the time of his coming to this country; and the violence with which he urged a conformity to, and an entire dependence upon the papal see. The stand made by the British clergy against the high pretensions of the papacy was successfully continued till the commencement of the seventh century, when the whole of christendom, including Britain, was laid prostrate at the pontiff's feet. It would not accord with my professed assurance of brevity, to conduct the reader through all the dark night of error that succeeded; the gloom of which was cheered, it is true, with the writings and exertions of a few illustrious characters, among whom was Bede, the ecclesiastical historian, who has justly acquired the name of The Venerable; yet when so estimable and learned a man was so strongly imbued with credulity and superstition, what must have been the state of the community at large?

If the mere appendages of Christianity are to be identified with Christianity itself, we should be justified in concluding, that the city of Chester and its neighbourhood were early distinguished as the seat where religion had taken deep root. The circumstance of Bangor, but a few miles from Chester, being fixed upon for the establishment of an extensive religious institution, in the sixth century, is a presumptive evidence, that the inhabitants were favourably inclined to the faith; and the number of Christian temples, and religious houses founded within our walls, before the Norman conquest, shews at least the zeal of individuals for divine worship. But we have seen, even in modern times, and in countries where

Christianity alone, *under certain forms*, is tolerated, immoralities of the grossest kind, and cruelties the most revolting to humanity practised, not merely incidentally, but by general consent, and under the sanction of their governments. So little *necessary* connexion is there between the ostentacious profession, and the enjoyment and practice of christian principles !

I shall conclude this article by presenting the reader with a description of the morals of our ancestors, in the reign immediately before the conquest, as given in the words of the before cited author, Stow, in his annals of England :—

“ The noble men, giving themselves to gluttonie and lecherie, did not goe to the church in the morning, as christian men use to doe, but lying in their chamber dallying with women, did heare the priest hastily rattel up diuine service. The clerkes also that had taken orders, if one had learned but his grammar, everie one wondred at him, the monkes made a mocke of their rule, and were both finelie appalled, and meetilie well fed. The common people were brought to be a prae to the mightier sort, so that either their goods were souked from them, or else what was worse, their bodies were sent into farre countries, to encrease the riches of the great men that oppressed them. Many, when they had fulfilled their lust, and had got their maides with child, they sent them out to bee common harlots. All men in generall gave themselves to drinking and gulping, and in that kind of exercise they continued sometimes night and day. These vices made the Englishmen effeminate and womanish, whereof it came to passe, that running headlong against Duke William, they lost themselves and their country, with one, and that and easie an light battaile.”



Norman Chester.

FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE TERMINATION OF THE LOCAL MONARCHY.

Soon after the decisive battle of Hastings, the conqueror, without the semblance of opposition, made his way to London, where he met with a ready submission from the principal nobility of the land, and was crowned in Westminster Abbey on the 26th of December, 1066. The first acts of William were of a mixed character, in which an affectation of clemency and real rigour were blended together towards his new subjects. Several insurrections were raised in different parts of the kingdom, but were subdued without difficulty; and it has been generally surmised by our old historians, that these were purposely excited by the king, that he might be furnished with some tolerable pretence for depriving the English leaders of their estates. However this may be, it is certain, that under one pretext or another, he dispossessed his new subjects of most of their possessions, in order to gratify his own countrymen, who had procured for him a throne, on whom he bestowed them. He introduced into England the feudal law, which he found established in France and Normandy, and which, during that age, was the foundation both of the stability and of the disorders in most of the monarchical governments in Europe. He divided all the lands of England, with very few exceptions, besides the royal demesnes, into baronies; and he conferred these, with the reservation of stated services and payments, on the most considerable of his adventurers. These great barons, who held immediately of the crown, shared out a great part of their lands to other foreigners,

who were denominated knights or vassals, and who paid their lord the same duty and submission in peace and war, which he himself owed to his sovereign. The whole kingdom contained about seven hundred chief tenants, and sixty thousand two hundred and fifteen knights' fees; and as none of the native English were admitted into the first rank, the few who retained their landed property were glad to be received into the second, and under the protection of some powerful Norman, to load themselves and their posterity with this grievous burthen, for estates which they had received free from their ancestors. The small mixture of English, which entered into this civil or military compact, for it partook of both species, was so restrained by subordination under the foreigners, that the Norman dominion seemed now to be fixed on the most durable basis, and to defy all the efforts of its enemies. This state of affairs gave William leisure to begin and finish an undertaking, which bears the marks of his extensive genius, and does honour to his memory. It was a general survey of all the lands in the kingdom, their extent in each district, their proprietors, tenures, value, the quantity of meadow, pasture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and in the same counties, the number of tenants, cottagers, and slaves of all denominations, who lived upon them. He appointed commissioners for this purpose, who entered every particular in their register by the verdict of juries; and after a labour of six years, for the work was so long in finishing, brought him an exact account of all the landed property of his kingdom.* This ancient document, called Domesday-book, the most valuable piece of antiquity possessed by any nation, is still preserved in the Exchequer, and serves to illustrate to us, in many particulars, the ancient state of England. The great Alfred had finished a like survey of the kingdom in his time, which was long kept at Winchester, and which probably served as a model to William in this undertaking.

* The four more northern counties were not comprehended in this survey, probably because of their wild and uncultivated state.

At the period, and for some time before the conquest, though the whole country was governed by one sole monarch, large districts of the kingdom were confided to the subordinate rule of noblemen who were most esteemed by the kings for their wisdom and martial prowess, and acted as viceroys or lieutenants within their respective limits. The region of Mercia comprehended several counties, of which Cheshire was one, and these governors were denominated dukes or earls. William, seeing the danger of entrusting so large an extent of country in the hands of any great man, divided the provinces into smaller portions, and by this means broke the power which before often braved the throne, at the same time that it enabled him to bestow more offices of emolument on his followers. It has before been remarked, that the title of *Earls of Chester*, though distinctly assumed by several of the governors immediately previous to the conquest, was but officary, or ministerial, and only indicative of the offices they held. But under the Norman kings, these titles were tokens of dignity, and were continued ever after by hereditary descent. I shall now proceed to the history of those distinguished individuals, of whom there were eight, seven of whom only bore the title, with the regal dignity attached to it, in chronological order :—

GHERBOD—THE FIRST EARL.

This individual was a noble Fleming, who had made common cause with the conqueror in his invasion of England. He had fought with great bravery at the battle of Hastings, and subsequently distinguished himself in repelling the incursions of the Welsh. As soon as William had obtained some reasonable prospect of permanent security, about 1068, he apportioned the city and county of Chester to his government, with the title of Earl, but unaccompanied with those splendid appendages of regal jurisdiction which were conferred upon his successors. Having an urgent call to his own country, where he had

committed some large possessions to the safeguard of his friends, Gherbod obtained leave of the king for a temporary absence; but arriving in Flanders, he had the misfortune of falling into the hands of his enemies, by whom he was thrown into confinement, from whence he never returned to enjoy the honours of his earldom.

HUGH LUPUS—SECOND EARL.

This nobleman was the son of Richard Earl of Avranches, of Normandy, by Emma, the sister of William, whose nephew he therefore was. Hugh Lupus came into England with his uncle, and stood so high in grace and favour with the conqueror, not only on account of their affinity in blood, but for his wisdom, valour and prowess, that he conferred upon him the whole county and earldom of Chester; to hold of him *Tám liberè ad gladium, sicut ipse Rex tenebat Angliam ad Coronam*, as the words of the charter run. Some historians, as Matthew Paris, have expounded these words, as conferring only the dignity of sword-bearer of England, at the coronation of the kings of England; the same author adding, "when king Henry III. married queen Elinor, 1236, the marriage was pompously solemnized, and all the great men of the kingdom used those offices and places, which had of ancient right belonged to their ancestors at the coronation of the kings; the earl of Chester then carried the sword of St. Edward, which is called *Curtein** before the king, in token that he was an Earl Palatine, and had power by right to restrain the king, if he should do amiss, his constable of Chester attending on him, and beating back the people with a rod or staff, when they pressed disorderly upon him." After quoting this passage from Matthew Paris, Sir Peter Leycester makes the following

* The *Curtein*, or *Curtana*, preserved among the *regalia* at the tower, called "the sword of mercy," and borne at coronations between the two swords of justice, the spiritual and the temporal.

observations :—"But although this office (sword bearer of England) might have of ancient right belonged to the Earls of Chester, ever since the time of Hugh Lupus, yet I believe there is something more magnificent couched in those words of the first charter or donation ; namely, a dignity inherent in the sword, as purchased by it, and to be kept by it also. For as in the crown of England there is an inherent right of regality annexed, so here is given an inherent right of dignity in the sword. This is to hold as freely by the sword as the king holds by the crown, only inferior to the king." The great antiquary Camden also, in maintaining the dignity of our Cheshire empire, from this grant, says :—" Cheshire enjoyed all sovereign jurisdiction within its own precincts, and that, in so high a degree, that the ancient Earls had parliaments of their own barons* and tenants, and were not obliged by the English acts of parliament. These high, and otherwise unaccountable jurisdictions, were thought necessary upon the *marshes* and borders of the kingdom, as investing the governors of those provinces with dictatorial power, and enabling them more effectually to subdue the common enemies of the nation." And in perfect accordance with these high powers, it is only necessary to add, that when the style in all legal proceedings of the courts at Westminster ran *contra cororam et dignitatem regis*, in our county palatine, these pleas were constantly expressed *contra dignitatem Gladii Cestriæ*. Before I conclude the article relative to our Cheshire monarchs, I shall have to notice several instances of the exercise of their *royal* authority, and in the mean time I may be allowed to adduce another testimony of the copiousness of the grant made by the conqueror to Earl Lupus. And although the compositions of poets are not

* Every baron had four esquires, every esquire had one gentleman, and every gentleman one valet, for their attendants. The barons too had their *free courts* for all pleas and suits, except those belonging to the *dignity of the Earl's sword*, and they had power of life and death. The last instance of this power was exercised in the person of Hugh Stringer, who was tried and convicted for murder in the baron of Kinderton's court, and executed 1597, the 39th of Queen Elizabeth.

usually brought forward to establish an historical fact, yet the following stanzas, written by one of our Cestrian ancestors, Henry Bradshaw,* may not be inappropriately presented to the reader, as confirmatory of the extent of that charter, which formed the basis of our exclusive rights, and constituted the grand era of our local monarchy:—

- “ The king gave to him for his inheritance
- “ The *county of Chester* with its appurtenance—
- “ By victory to win the aforesaid earldome,
- “ Freely to govern it as by conquest right ;
- “ Made a sure charter to him and his succession,
- “ By the *sword of dignity* to hold it with might,
- “ And to call a parliament at his will and sight,
- “ To order his subjects after true justice,
- “ As a perpotent prince, and statutes to devise.”

This famous sword of dignity, is still remaining in the British Museum. It is in length about four feet, and so unwieldy as to be brandished with difficulty by a very strong man with both his hands; the blade is two-edged, and has this inscription immediately beneath the hilt—“Hugo Comes Cestria,” and the hilt itself is decorated with pearls. The investiture of Hugh took place in the fourth year of the conqueror’s reign, 1070. There is a M.S. in the Harleim Library (No. 2155), in which it is said, that when William gave the earldom to his nephew, that monarch accompanied him as far as Malpas, where he invested him with the sovereignty of the county, and that the earl then marched towards Chester, and took the city, after having been twice repulsed. The conjecture of Mr. Pennant, that he was invested at Chester, is, however, more probable; for we find the conqueror there in person in 1069, where he might also be early in the following

* Henry Bradshaw was born in the city of Chester, and lived therein a benedictine. He was a diligent historian, having written, as Fuller says, no *bad Chronicle*, and another book of the life of St. Werburgh. Dr. Gower, however, is of opinion that these two are one and the same work. Bradshaw flourished about the year 1513.

year, having been employed in finally subduing the Mercian province, which appears to have been in arms until that period.

With the splendid dignities enjoyed by Lupus, his possessions must have been amazingly extensive. Besides his immense demesnes in Normandy, and within his little kingdom of Cheshire, he had lands in nineteen other counties in England. He held all Cheshire of the king, with his tenants also, as well as their tenure and services; for every person within his jurisdiction except the bishop, held what lands he possessed immediately from the earl, and the earl held all from the king.

Our antiquary Webb, without vouching any authority, has bestowed a most flattering character upon Earl Hugh, observing, that he was of most excellent parts for government both in war and peace, and by his princely carriage obtained great honour and dignity, as well in the affairs of the kingdom in general, as also in the government of his own province and earldom, where he had power to create under him many barons, whom he placed in several parts of his jurisdiction, giving unto them great possessions, and bestowing upon them large and special privileges.* Lupus lived in great honour all the days of William the Conqueror, his uncle; of William Rufus, his second son; and some years of Henry I. the third son. He performed great service for the Conqueror all the time of his reign, being employed both at home and abroad; and in Rufus's time, he was sent to subdue Anglesey, and to suppress the risings of the turbulent Welshmen, which he did with great valour and success. This flattering portrait of our first local monarch, however, has suffered considerable mutation from the pen of Ordericus, who affirms, "he was not abundantly liberal, but profusely prodigal, and carried not so much a family as an army still along with him; he took no account either of his receipts or disbursements; he daily wasted

* Of these barons, and their particular prerogatives notice will be taken in a subsequent and separate article.

his estate, and delighted more in falconers and huntsmen, than in the tillers of his land, or heaven's orators, the ministers; he was given much to his belly, whereby in time he grew so fat, that he could scarce scrawl; he had many bastard sons, and bastard daughters, but they were almost all swept away by sundry misfortunes. The Welshmen, or Britons, called him *Hugh Fras*, that is, *Hugh the Fat*; or *Hugh Dirgans*, which signifies *Hugh the Grass*, on account of his extreme corpulency."

The reader is left to his discretion to adopt which of the two above descriptions he thinks proper; or he may with very great probability believe them both, when applied to different periods of the earl's life. That he was, in his earlier days, a brave, active, and prudent prince, is clearly authenticated, as well from the choice made of him for so high a station by his politic uncle, as from the general character of his government; and this is perfectly consistent with his having, towards the close of life sunk into a state of voluptuousness and criminal excesses.

Lupus was married to Ermentrude, daughter of Hugh de Claimont, Earl of Beavoys, in France, by whom, according to Ordericus, he had only one child, named Richard, who succeeded to the earldom after his father's death. The same old writer enumerates three other sons and a daughter, whom he pronounces to be base born; while Webb, apparently out of Hollingshead, maintains, that these were legitimate children by his countess. This latter account appears extremely improbable, as, upon the melancholy death of Richard, without issue, these pretended legitimate sons of Hugh, were passed by in the succession, while his sister's son, Randal the First, took undisputed possession of the earldom, as the right heir. Lupus appears to have terminated his days in his own metropolis, on the 27th day of July, A.D. 1101, after having been in possession of his sovereignty thirty-one years, and in the 1st year of Henry I. By the relation of some writers, his death is placed several years afterwards, but their testimony rests upon no reasonable authority.

At this early period, the superstitious tenets of the Romish church had acquired an amazing ascendancy over the uninformed consciences of the English nation; and the priesthood of that communion were indefatigable in persuading our great men who had possessions to dispose of them, that the most acceptable service they could perform, by way of *propitiating* the favour of the Almighty, and *atoning* for their transgressions, was by contributing their worldly riches to support the church of God, *whose servants and legates they were*. The building of churches, and the rich endowments of religious houses, were represented as equal, if not superior, to all the Christian virtues, which would infallibly lead to the glories of eternal blessedness. If we can bring ourselves to think that the human intellect can be so debased, as cordially to admit the validity of this doctrine, and, indeed, notwithstanding its repugnance to Christian principles, it is not easy to disprove the fact, there is no great wonder, that men, as they see their latter end approaching, and feel the guilt of their accumulating crimes, should be willing and desirous of a *reasonable* commutation with their Maker. Whether this was the case with our local monarch, Lupus, it is no part of our business to inquire. But this much is certain, that towards the close of his life, he bestowed large possessions in the foundation and endowment of various religious houses both in England and Normandy, among which was that of the abbey of St. Werburgh's, in this city, of which, however, more anon, when we come to speak of our ecclesiastical affairs.

It may here, however, be noted, that among the privileges granted to this abbey, were, "the toll and all the profits of the *fair* at the feast of St. Werburgh, for *three days*; appointing, that for all forfeitures in the said fair, trial should be in the court of St. Werburgh, for the benefit of the monks: to the honour of which saint, he likewise granted, *that whatsoever thief, or other malefactor, came to the solemnity, should not be attached, while he continued in the said fair, except he committed any new*

offence there.”* It will be seen, from the above quotation, that the custom of holding our Chester fairs, was recognised as in existence upwards of 740 years ago. To this act of sovereignty in the grant of a partial and temporary asylum, I shall here add another, of a more extended, though similar character, and I do not know that I can do it better than in the words of the late *Dr. Gower*, who appears to have been a complete enthusiast in every thing that concerns the dignity and antiquity of our palatinate.

* By a subsequent charter, granted by Randal Blundeville, permission¹ was given to the abbot and monks of St. Werburgh to hold their fairs and markets before the abbey gates. Henry Bradshaw, in his life of St. Werburgh, speaks of this as a grant of Hugh Lupus, though it clearly belongs to his successor above named :—

“ The erle gave the place many great freedoms
Within Chester cite whiche ben known of olde,
With singular privileges and auncient customs
Saynte Werburghe faire with profites manifolde,
That no marchandise shoulde be bought ne solde
Enduryne the faire dayes in wrytinge as we finde,
But afore the abbay-gate, to have and to holde.”

It appears that in the reign of Edward IV. the abbot and convent of St. Werburgh claimed tolls at the fair of St. Werburgh for two days and a half; they claimed also to have the fair of St. John held before the gates of the abbey; the mayor and citizens on the contrary contended, that they had a right to expose their merchandise any where within the city. By an agreement then made between the parties, the abbot and convent retained their right to tolls; the citizens were allowed to build booths in the abbey-green, but not so as to obstruct the passage to the abbey; and the abbot and convent agreed not to let their houses near the fair, whilst citizens' booths remained unoccupied, but afterwards they were to let them to citizens or strangers. Notwithstanding this agreement, litigations still continued between the convent and the city, till the year 1513, when an award was made by Sir Charles Booth and others, on several matters of dispute between the parties; by this award it was determined, that for the future the abbot should no longer have any interest in the fair of St. Werburgh; their claim as to the fair of John the Baptist appears to have been settled by former agreement. The award of 1 Henry VIII. is copied at length in Randle Holmes's collections. By his answer to a *quo warranto* in the reign of Henry VII. it appears that the abbot then claimed a fair for three days at the festival of St. Werburgh; the privilege of arresting transgressors during the fair, and committing them to his own prison; of trying criminals for felony to be executed at the earl's gallows; and that no thief should be taken up but by the earl's bailiff, or by the mayor. A short time before the reformation, it was finally adjudged, that the right of holding fairs was vested in the citizens solely.

"*Easy recollection* (says he) presents me with a striking instance of refined policy in Hugh Lupus,—the founder of our local monarchy—perfectly similar with a political institution of the founder of Imperial Rome. *Population* is not barely the ornament and the splendour—it is the positive basis of every empire. Romulus therefore, in order to furnish his new city with inhabitants, opened an *asylum* for the fugitives of all nations. Lupus did the same. But, as his territories were much more extensive than even those of the *empress of the world*, in her days of infancy—and as they had been greatly depopulated by the ravages of war—instead of *one*, he opened *three asyla*, for the umbrage and protection of any new subjects, that might take shelter under the cover of his wings. These three asyla were, *Hoole Heath*, near Chester; *Over-Marsh*, near Farndon; and *Bud-Heath*, near Middlewich. Their situation was most happily imagined. *Two* of them, near the confines of Wales—where the addition of every single subject added a double portion of domestic strength—and the third near the centre of his dominions. It is not impossible, but the rude and uncultivated state of these extensive *wastes*, might influence the founder of our empire in his choice, as well as their happy situation. But whatever was the motive of assigning these particular spots for his several asyla, it is certain, that the success of them was equal to his utmost wishes. The prince of Roman historians mentions this sensible institution of Romulus, as being agreeable to the ancient practice of the founders of states. But we cannot suppose that a rough and unpolished Norman, whose only science could be that of war, and whose principal amusements must arise from the very din and clangor of arms,—could adopt this refinement of policy from any *literary* lights, or derive any intelligence about it from the informing page of history. Nature, alone, must have been his guide; and his tutress, instinctive reason. Such was the state of Hugh Lupus's political institution! But the history of very remote times becomes so exceedingly confused, when it depends only upon the

evidence of oral tradition—that though the remembrance of the fact, relative to these *asyla*, were perfectly distinct and clear in the days of our historical collector, *Webb*,—yet the *reasons* of the fact were entirely obliterated and defaced from the traces of human memory. Speaking of Twemlowe, in his Vale Royal, he proceeds thus:—
 ‘And so we pass into that spacious precinct of *Rudheath*, a wide common, containing a large circuit, and which in *old times had a sanctuary* in it with privileges thereunto, such, as howsoever intended by those founders, in pity and *compassion to poor offenders*; yet in the abuse of them, an encouragement to wilful and desperate transgressors; and therefore justly demolished.’ But though *Webb*—depending only upon tradition—knew nothing of the *true origin* of this asylum, yet that invaluable record, the *Cheshire Domesday*, bears indisputable evidence to the *principles* and *reasons* upon which this political institution was first formed. The verdict of two inquisitions, delivered by a jury of the most distinguished gentlemen of Cheshire—upon the awful solemnity of an oath—contains the faith and testimony of this indisputable evidence. One of these inquisitions was taken in the seventh year of Edward the Second; and the other in the twentieth of Edward the Third. The following is the substance of the two verdicts:—

“By an inquisition taken before Hugh de Audelith, Justice of Chester, on Sunday after the feast of St. Peter ad Vineula, it was found—‘That a certain large piece of *Waste*, called *Overmarsh*, was in *ancient times* ordained for strangers of what country soever, and assigned to such as came to the *peace* of the Earl of Chester, or to his aid; resorting there to form dwellings, but without building any fixed houses, by the means of nails or pins, save only booths and tents to live in.’

“The other inquisition is as follows:—‘The jury declare upon their oaths, that the *Moor* which is called *Rudheath*, was formerly a *waste* place, very anciently assigned and set apart by some of the *old Earls of Chester*, for the reception, not only of their own subjects, but of

all fugitive strangers coming to the aid of the Earl's *peace*, either from *England*, or from any other countries.'—And there is an inquisition of the same tenor, relative to the other asylum of *Hoole-Heath*."

The authors of *Magna Britannia* remark, that these sanctuaries were the source of much emolument to the earls, who received fines from all such persons, when they came to reside under their protection, a heriot at their death, and in case of their dying without issue, claimed their goods and chattels. It appears also that these profits were farmed under the earl in the reign of Edward II.

Now that I am upon the subject of these grants and privileges emanating from our Cheshire monarch, I may be allowed to pursue them through their results to their final extinction. In doing this, I must of necessity be guilty of an anachronism ; but I hold this to be a much less inconvenience than splicing any topic into different portions, for the purpose of introducing it into various parts of the book, by which the natural connection is often lost. In several subsequent instances, the reader will observe this method is adopted ; and the author believes with general advantage. But to return.

It may be observed,* that this protection of criminals, of which an account has been given, was of a more unlimited nature than that afforded by the church, which was confined to parish churches, cathedrals, and other consecrated buildings, and a certain space around them ; in most instances not exceeding farther than the cemetery, and in point of time was restricted to forty days, and that only as preparatory to banishment from the realm ; whereas, under the protection of the Earl of Chester, felons and other criminals escaping from any part of the kingdom, so long as they demeaned themselves peaceably, were entitled to protection during life. The continued exercise of this privilege, by means of which Cheshire

* See Lysons's Cheshire.

became the common receptacle of persons whose crimes had driven them from their own country, seems to have had, as might have been expected, a most pernicious effect upon the morals of its inhabitants. In the reign of Henry IV. in consequence of "grievous clamour and complaint made to the King, of many murders, man-slaughters, robberies, batteries, and other riots and offences done by the people of the county of Chester to divers of the king's liege people in divers counties of England," an act of parliament was passed, by which they were made liable to outlawry and forfeiture of goods.

Under the jurisdiction of the earls of Chester, debtors also had peculiar privileges. It was an ancient custom, that if a debtor should come into the Court of Exchequer at Chester, and there swear that he would pay his debts as soon as he was able, the officers of that court granted a writ in the nature of a protection, by virtue of which he was at liberty to go where he pleased, unmolested by his creditors. A similar custom, with respect to debtors, existed also in the city of Chester from ancient times. If any freeman, having been imprisoned for a debt, and being unable to pay it, on going before the mayor and sheriffs, and swearing that he would pay the debt as soon as he was able, reserving to himself only "mean sustentation," had a right to be discharged from his imprisonment. This is stated in a record of the claims of the city to various privileges in the reign of King Henry VII;* but about fifty years afterwards the custom appears to be somewhat different, for it was the practice at the later period, that when any freeman, imprisoned for debt, petitioned the mayor and aldermen, and declared that he was unable to pay the debt, he was allowed to reside in what was called "the free-house," to walk at large within the liberties of the said house;† to attend divine service

* Orders and acts of assembly of the corporation, in the Town Clerk's office.

† The boundaries of the liberties are described to extend along the walls on the west side to the New Tower, and on the east side to Newton Tower, and towards the corn-market.

at St. John's church without the North Gate, but not to go into any dwelling-house. The above-mentioned privilege of the county debtors was taken away by an act of parliament in the 34th year of King Henry VIII. It does not appear that the privilege of the city debtors has been abolished by statute, but it has long since grown out of use.

In the 32d year of Henry VIII. an act of parliament was passed for abolishing the privilege of sanctuary in all places throughout the realm, except in churches, hospitals, and church-yards; and excluding from its benefits, even in consecrated places, all such persons as should be guilty of murder, rape, highway robbery, burglary, house-burning, or sacrilege. By this act, Manchester, Derby, York, Northampton, Norwich, Westminster, Wells, and Launcester, were made sanctuaries for term of life for all persons guilty of minor offences. The next year, the inhabitants of Manchester, who then carried on, as their petition sets forth, a great trade in the bleaching of linen yarn, making of linen and woollen cloths, and dressing of cottons, having experienced much inconvenience to their trade, which had been exposed to many depredations since the influx of dissolute persons who had resorted thither under the sanction of the act then lately passed; and having, as they stated, no mayor, sheriff, nor bailiff in their town, which was not walled, neither had it any gaol or prison for the confinement of offenders, petitioned parliament for relief, praying that the sanctuary might be removed from Manchester to some other town. Their petition was granted, and the sanctuary was, by an act of the 33d Henry VIII. removed to Chester, which, as the act sets forth, had no such trade and merchandise, and had a strong gaol for the punishment of malefactors, and a mayor, bailiffs, and other head officers. The act reserved a power to the king, if it should appear, by information, or otherwise, that Chester was not a meet place for a sanctuary, he might by his proclamation discharge the said city thereof, and appoint some other town or place in its stead. Not long after the passing of this act,

Hugh Aldersey, then mayor, accompanied by Mr. Foulk Dutton, went up with a petition to the king, representing to his Majesty that Chester, being a port town, and situated on the borders of Wales, was a very unfit place for a sanctuary for malefactors, and that it would be attended with many inconveniences to the merchants and inhabitants: the king acceded to their petition, and by proclamation removed the sanctuary from Chester to Stafford. The privilege of sanctuary was finally abolished by a statute of 21 James I.

With this account of the origin, progress, and various ramifications of these *asyla*, to their final abrogation, we shall close our history of the acts and government of our first local sovereign.

COAT ARMORIAL OF LUPUS.



RICHARD—THIRD EARL.

This earl was but seven years old when his father died. He is spoken of as a youth of great promise by our old historians; but he never appears to have entered upon the government of his hereditary dominions. King Henry I. took him under his royal auspices, and treated him during his short life with paternal tenderness; he brought him up in the company of his own children, with

whom he sent him into Normandy, and with them there provided the most princely and best education for him. He married Maude,* daughter of Stephen, Earl of Blois, in France, by his wife Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, and had scarcely tasted the sweets of the nuptial bed, when a fatal accident deprived him and his consort, as well as a great number of the prime nobility, of their lives. A little before this catastrophe, King Henry had been in France, where having been eminently successful in his wars, and having settled his affairs to his satisfaction, he returned to England; and that his children and favourites might participate in his rejoicings, he sent into Normandy, requesting their immediate presence at his court. In attempting to prosecute this voyage, the ship was wrecked, and all, except one individual, perished. But because this lamentable accident is memorable for the destructive influence it had upon many of the nobility of England, I shall give the whole story as cited out of Ordericus, by our great Cheshire antiquary:—

“The master of the ship was Thomas the son of Stephen, who came to King Henry the First, then in Normandy, and ready to take shipping for England, and offered him a mark of gold (in elder ages valued at six pound in silver, and as others say, ten marks of silver, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) desiring that as Stephen his father had transported the conqueror, when he fought against King Harold in England, and was his constant mariner in all his passages between England and Normandy, so that he himself likewise might now have the transportation of King Henry with all his attendance, as it were in fee; for he had a very good ship, called *Candida Navis*, or *The White Ship*, well furnished for that purpose. The king thanked him, but withal told him, he had already made choice of another ship which he would not change; yet he would commend him to his two sons, William and Richard, with many others of his nobility; whereat

* Henry Bradshaw calls this lady *Matilda*; but I rather chuse to follow Ordericus, whose authority in this instance is adopted by Sir Peter Leycester.

the mariners much rejoiced, and desired the prince to bestow some wine upon them to drink. He gave them *Tres Modios Vini*, three hogsheads of wine, wherewith they made themselves sufficiently drunk. There were almost three hundred in this unfortunate ship; for there were fifty skilful oars or galley-men, had they not been intoxicated with wine, which belonged to the ship, besides the young gallants who were to be transported. But now being neither able to govern themselves nor the ship, they suffered it to be split on a rock, and so all were drowned, except one Baroldi, a butcher of Roan, in Normandy, who was taken up the next morning by three fishermen into their boat, after a cold frosty night's shipwreck, and with much ado recovered, and lived twenty years after."

The names of the more eminent persons who perished in this fatal calamity, were William and Richard, two sons of King Henry the First, and his daughter Maude; Richard, Earl of Chester, his wife Maude, and his bastard-brother Ottiwell; William of Rothelent (Rhyddlan), who was coming to England to receive his father's inheritance; besides a great number of other distinguished personages of the first quality. The place whence this ill-fated vessel sailed, was Harefleet in Normandy, and the precise period of the shipwreck is placed on the 6th December, in the year 1120, when the young earl was about nineteen years of age. The only public act of Richard, of which any knowledge has descended to posterity, is a charter of confirmation granted to the abbey of St. Werburgh.

After alluding to the above melancholy event, our Cestrian collector, Webb, relates the following story of this Richard:—"That he had once formerly escaped a great peril, not of the sea, but by occasion of superstitious water; for in his very infancy, before his going into Normandy, they led him a pilgrimage to *Winefrid's Well*, in Wales, where he was beset and encompassed with a great power and strength of the rebellious rout

of *Welsh-men*, to surprise and take him out of the hands of his leaders; but by a valiant rescue of *William*, then Constable of Chester, he was recovered out of their holds, and brought safe back again to the city of Chester, and afterwards sent into Normandy."

By whom, or in what manner the Palatinate was governed in the interval between the death of Hugh Lupus, and the accession of Richard's successor, I have not been able to collect from any of our ancient writers. At all events, its privileges and immunities seem to have been preserved inviolate; for the following earl, with the concurrence of Henry I. entered upon all the royal prerogatives, in as ample a manner as they had been exercised by Hugh Lupus himself. It is certain that during this interval of thirteen years, the *little empire* had been preserved in perfect peace and security; and it is a remark not unworthy of observation, that in the whole course of its existence, comprehending a period of about one hundred and seventy-four years, not a single instance is upon record of an attempt, on the part of the inhabitants of the city or county, to cast off their allegiance to their sovereign, or disturb his government by popular commotions.

COAT ARMORIAL OF RICHARD.



RANDAL I.—FOURTH EARL.

After the premature death of Richard, who left no issue, the Earldom devolved upon Randal, the son of John Bohun, a nobleman of Normandy, to whom the Conqueror had, for his good services, given the town of Carlisle, and had likewise made him Earl of Cumberland. He married Margaret, the sister of Hugh Lupus, by whom he had issue this Randal, and they both bear the surname of *Mecenis*, or *Meschines*. This Randal, as cousin and heir to Richard, was the *fourth* earl after the conquest, for it must be borne in mind that we have all along denominated *Gherbod* as the *first* earl, although he never had vested in him the palatinate dignity. It is worthy to be recorded, that this Randal so highly esteemed the honour of rising to this dignity, that he relinquished the coat-armour of his own father, John Earl of Cumberland, and assumed the three wheat sheafs, or, in a field-azure. This has given rise to an error, which was adopted by Ralph Hollingshead, that he exchanged the earldom of Cumberland for that of Chester. But this mistake has been satisfactorily corrected by Sir John Fern; and it seems that his choice of these arms was principally occasioned by his own natural disposition, which was more inclined to peace and civil government, than to warlike affairs and great enterprizes. He married Lucy, the widow of Roger de Romar, son of Geroldus. She was the daughter of Algar the Saxon, Earl of Mercia, and sister to the two great earls, Edwin Earl of Mercia, and Morcar, Earl of Northumberland, who stoutly opposed William the Conqueror. By this lady he had issue Randal, who succeeded his father in the earldom; William, who was created earl of Cambridge; and two daughters. He died A.D. 1128, after having been in possession of his high dignity eight years. Of this prince, peaceful and domestic in his habits and disposition, not an incident is

recorded worthy of the page of history, except that according to the fashion of the times, he bestowed various lands for the building and endowment of several religious houses, in honour and support of mother church, and for the peace of his soul!

COAT ARMORIAL OF RANDAL I.



RANDAL II.—FIFTH EARL.

Randal the Second, surnamed Gernouns, from his having been born at Gernon-Castle, in Normandy, was son and successor to his father, Randal the First, in the earldom of Chester, and in all his patrimony both in England and Normandy, A.D. 1128. This prince was of a courageous and warlike temper, and living in times when great political contentions prevailed in the kingdom, he made a conspicuous figure in the history of that period. Our great antiquary, Sir Peter Leycester, has given a copious history of this earl, and I shall do no more than copy or abridge his account, correcting only his obsolete orthography.

A.D. 1139. King Stephen made Henry, son of David King of Scotland, Earl of Northumberland, at Durham, and gave him Carlisle and Cumberland, upon a peace then concluded between Stephen and the Scottish monarch,

which incensed this Randal vehemently against Stephen ; and being allied to Robert Earl of Gloucester, whose daughter he had married, Randal was the more readily drawn to take part against Stephen, in favour of Maude the empress. John, prior of Hagulsted, in his continuation of the History of Simon of Durham, tells us, that in 1140, Henry, son of the King of Scotland, with his wife, coming to visit King Stephen in England, Randal was highly displeased at him, for he claimed Carlisle and Cumberland as his rightful patrimony, and determined to assault Henry, on his return to Scotland. But Stephen, having notice of Randal's intentions, he sent Henry back into his own country safe from danger. The Earl of Chester's indignation was now more strongly directed against Stephen, and surprising the castle of Lincoln, possessed himself of all the strong-holds in that county, being associated in that enterprize with William de Romara, Earl of Lincoln, his half-brother. The story is thus related by Ordericus : Stephen had placed a garrison of soldiers in the castle for its defence, when Randal, who had approached the neighbourhood, spying an opportunity when the castle soldiers were dispersed abroad, unarmed, and without a cloak or coat, (as if he meant to fetch home his wife, whom he had before sent thither, accompanied with the countess of Lincoln, as walking abroad for their recreation) entered the castle with three soldiers, who followed close after him, no man suspecting any treachery. These instantly seized the port or gate, and took all the arms which they found, letting in William de Romara, with a company of armed soldiers, who were at hand, according to previous arrangement; and so turning all out that remained in the castle, which were of the king's party, the two brothers possessed themselves both of the fortress and the town.

King Stephen being apprized of this event, forthwith collected an army, and after Christmas-day, 1141, marched towards Lincoln, where by his sudden and unexpected coming in the night, and the intelligence of some of the townsmen, he seized seventeen of the earl's soldiers who

were in the town. The two earls, with their wives and friends, were closely besieged in the castle, and saw no reasonable hope of escaping from their perilous situation. At last, however, Randal (who was the younger and more adventurous earl) contrived to escape from the castle by night, unobserved by the enemy, attended only by a very few men. Making the best of his way into his own dominions, he exerted his utmost ability to raise forces, obtained succours from his father-in-law, the Earl of Gloucester, who also joined him in person ; succeeded in collecting a great number of Welshmen, whom he exasperated against the king ; and finally successfully invoked the assistance of the empress Maude, to whom he swore fealty. Having now gathered a numerous army, the two earls, Randal and the Earl of Gloucester, made a hasty march to Lincoln. The king, hearing of their approach, took counsel as to his best mode of proceeding. Some advised him to leave a competent strength to defend the town, and to go away himself and raise a potent army through all parts of the kingdom, whereby in due time he might be able to disperse them if they should continue before that town ; while others endeavoured to persuade him to send a parley to the enemy to put off the battle, since that day (being Christmas-day) was sacred, and to be set apart in commemoration of the purification of the Virgin Mary. But the obstinate king, not willing to delay the matter, prepared all his forces immediately for combat. The king divided his army into three bodies, a division which was likewise adopted by the two earls. In the front of the king's army were the Flemings and the Britons, commanded by William de Ipro and Alan de Dinan. On the opposite side to them stood a furious company of the Welsh, commanded by two brothers, Mariadoth and Kaladrius.

Preparations being now made for the battle, the Earl of Chester alighted from his horse, resolving to fight on foot. The stout earl bravely encouraged his Cheshire regiment of foot, and made this short speech to the Earl of Gloucester, and the rest of his army:—"I humbly

thank you, most invincible general, and you the rest of my fellow-soldiers, that you have so faithfully and courageously expressed your affection to me, even to the hazard of your own lives. And since I have been the cause of this your danger, it is but reason that I should lead the way, and give the first onset to the army of the perfidious king, who hath broken the truce he made, and only out of the confidence of your valour, and the king's injustice, I doubt not to dissipate his forces, and with my sword to make way through the midst of my enemies: Methinks I see them run already." Then Robert Earl of Gloucester, who commanded in chief, encouraged his soldiers, and told the *Bassians*, and others who were disinherited, *That now they should have one bout for the recovery of their right and inheritance.*

King Stephen, on the other hand, alighted from his horse, and fought on foot very stoutly, both for his life and kingdom; but having no audible voice, commanded Baldwin de Clare, a man of great honour and prowess, to make known his mind to the army, who made an oration to encourage his soldiers; "impeaching the Earl of Chester as a man audacious, but without judgement; heady to plot a treason, but still wavering in the pursuit of it; ready to run into battle, but uncircumspect of any danger; aiming beyond his reach, and conceiting things merely impossible; and therefore hath but few with him, leading only a rout of vagrant and tumultuous peasants: So there is nothing in him to be feared; for whatsoever he begins like a man, he ends like a woman; unfortunate in all his undertakings; in his encounters he hath either been vanquished, or if by chance he rarely obtain a victory, it is with greater loss on his part than the conquered." As soon as he had ended his oration, the battle began, which was very fierce and terrible, many being slain on both sides. At the head of the king's army were very stout soldiers, but his enemies out-numbering him, prevailed. William de Ipro with the Flemings, and Alan with the Britons, first gave way, which equally discouraged the king's friends, and elated the enemy. Besides,

several of his nobles were disaffected to his cause, and while they remained with him in person, treacherously favoured the desertion of their troops to the Earls of Chester and Gloucester. William Earl of Mellent, and William de Warren, his brother, and other famous knights both of England and Normandy, ran away as soon as they saw their own side shrink. But Baldwin de Clare, and several others of his nobles stuck stoutly to the king, and fought to the last man. Stephen himself, like a noble branch of an heroic family, fought so gallantly, that when his sword was broken, taking a battle axe from a young gentleman who stood near him, he ceased not to encounter with his over-powerful enemies, but was at last forced to yield himself prisoner to Robert Earl of Gloucester, his cousin, who sent him to Maude, the empress, at Bristol, where he was imprisoned. Baldwin de Clare, likewise, with other distinguished champions of the king's army, were taken prisoners. Thus by the voluble wheel of fortune, was king Stephen taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, on Candlemas-day, A.D. 1141, according to Ordericus, who lived in that very age, which was principally achieved by the valour and address of Randal Earl of Chester. It is said, that Alan Earl of Brittain, to avenge the dishonour of taking his lord and king prisoner, laid an ambush for the assassination of Randal, but was himself taken and imprisoned, till he did homage to the Earl of Chester, and had delivered up his castles unto him.

Not long after this, Robert Earl of Gloucester was taken prisoner by Stephen's party, in a subsequent battle, and thrown into prison; and after some negotiation, his enlargement was consented to, on the condition of the release of Stephen. The king, having thus acquired his liberty, A.D. 1143, again besieged the city of Lincoln, and attempted to build a fort over against the castle, of which Randal was in possession, but the earl effectually frustrated his design, killing the workmen who were employed in its construction. In 1145, king Stephen, gathering a large army, built a strong castle over against Wellingford, whither Randal Earl of Chester accompanied him

with great forces, and was restored unto his favour. But afterwards the earl coming to the king's court at Northampton, was surprised, little dreaming of any such matter, and cast into prison until he restored the castle of Lincoln, which he had fraudulently seized, and all other castles which he injuriously had taken from the king. But the reconciliation between Stephen and Randal is thus related in *Gesta Stephani*:—The Earl of Chester (who had got almost a third part of the kingdom by his sword) came to the king, and desired pardon for his rebellion at Lincoln, and for the seizing of his sovereign's possessions, and therefore was received into favour. And in further testimony of his obedience, he helped the king's forces, and gallantly assaulted the town of Bedford, which had much weakened and shattered the king's army, and having taken it, delivered it into Stephen's hands. After this he accompanied king Stephen to Wallingford, attended by three hundred gallant horse, till the king had completed a strong castle, in prospect thereof, to stop the incursions of the enemy, who were wont to issue out of that place, and prey upon the country. But notwithstanding these appearances of friendship, Randal was strongly suspected by Stephen's party, because he surrendered not the castles and rents which he had violently taken from the king; and because of the earl's wavering mind, not having put in pledges of his fidelity; so that neither the king nor his prime councillors durst rely upon him, unless he would surrender all the king's possessions; and they came to this conclusion, that if he refused this, the king ought to avail himself of the favourable opportunity of securing his person.

Randal, finding himself thus suspected, set about contriving how he might extricate himself from his perilous situation, and turn the machinations of his enemies against themselves; and coming to the court with some attendants, whereby he might be the less suspected, he complained how he was beset with a barbarous multitude of Welsh, who made great spoil and waste of his lands, so that he and all his tenants bordering on the confines

of his county, would be quite extirpated, unless the king gave him speedy assistance ; telling him, that his presence would do more by the very name of a king, than many thousands of soldiers without him. The king cheerfully promised his assistance ; but the council about the royal person would not hear of a compliance with this solicitation ; they urged the king to consider whether the earl had not a design to ensnare him, representing that it was not safe for him to bring his army into the midst of so barbarous a country, through mountainous and steepy places, where he might be entrapped on every side. Besides, it were a very rash part to go into his country, who had taken from him the greatest part of his kingdom ; for although he might seem to incline to the king, yet there was no certainty of his fidelity, nor pledges of assurance ; and that if he would have the king's assistance, he should first deliver up what he had unjustly taken ; which if he refused, then presently he should be seized on as the king's enemy, and be imprisoned till he made restitution. But Randal, when he heard the conditions which he was to perform before he could have the king's aid, answered, that he came not to the court for that purpose, neither had he any notice of this beforehand, whereby he might have advised thereon, and uttering many high words, he was laid hold on by the king's officers, and imprisoned. The nobles who took part with Earl Randal petitioned the king for his enlargement, and offered sureties, or any security the king should demand for the delivery up of those castles which were of right belonging unto the king, so that the earl might be released. And thereupon the Earl of Chester (having given pledges, and taken a solemn oath that he would never hereafter take up arms against the king) was restored to his liberty.

No sooner, however, was the earl released, than he violated his oath, and raised an army against the king, prosecuting his wrathful indignation by fire and sword wherever he came. He appeared often with a party of soldiers in view of the town of Lincoln, where now the

king had placed the flower of his troops, and had many skirmishes with them ; sometimes he was put to the worse ; sometimes by the smiling success of fortune, he victoriously triumphed over the king's party. He likewise blocked up the castle of Coventry, which also he had delivered up to the king, till Stephen came to relieve it with victuals, for which it was in great distress, and that was done with great difficulty to the king, by forcing his passage through Randal's army, where by the way he had many conflicts. In the first skirmish, the king having received some slight wound, was forced to retreat ; but as soon as he was recovered, he fell upon the earl's army, took many, wounded others, while the earl himself was put to flight, and nearly slain. The king then razed the castle of Coventry to the ground, and victoriously proceeded to other castles in Randal's possession, sometimes blocking them up, sometimes burning and destroying all about them, and ever after became a sore enemy to Randal and his adherents.

In 1150, David, King of Scotland, entertained Henry, son of Maude the empress of Carlisle, very magnificently, about Whitsuntide, in the presence of Henry, son of King David, and Randal Earl of Chester, who was then appeased concerning his claim upon Carlisle and Cumberland as his patrimony, and did homage to King David ; for there appears to have been some understanding among them, that for these, Randal should have the honour of Lancaster, and that Earl Randal's son should marry one of the daughters of Henry, prince of Scotland. And so King David, Henry Duke of Normandy, and Earl Randal agreed to unite their forces against King Stephen. In consequence of this compact, the Scottish monarch, with his son Henry, actually marched his forces to Lancaster, where Earl Randal promised to meet them with his ; but the latter having failed of his promise, they again retreated to their own country.

Randal the second closed his earthly career in the year 1153, after having possessed the earldom twenty-five years. He was married, as already noted, to Maude, daughter of Robert Earl of Gloucester, bastard son of

King Henry the First, by whom he had issue, Hugh, who succeeded him in the earldom, and another son named Richard. He founded a nunnery in the city of Chester; a priory at Trentham, in Staffordshire, and one at Mentings in Lincolnshire, besides giving large endowments to churches and religious houses. Yet it does not appear that Randal was any favourite with mother church, as we are assured he died excommunicated by Walter Durdant, bishop of Lichfield. The piety and affection of his widow and his eldest son Hugh, however, was strongly marked in their anxious solicitudes to remove from the soul of their deceased husband and father the tremendous *anathema*, and *contracted* for his absolution, by giving to the bishop and his successors the town of Styshall, near Coventry—a very moderate compensation for a blessing of such inestimable magnitude!

The prominent feature in the character of Randal the second, is a bold daring spirit of enterprize, developed in his high military prowess; turbulent in his nature, and ambitious in his projects, his conquests were only bounded by the limits of his power; nor does he appear to have been scrupulous in the choice of means to accomplish a favourite end. If credit is to be given to his history, with him the solemnity of an oath was of no moral obligation, or at least of so little, that it might be violated as soon and as often as political expediency required it. He maintained, however, a steady and unflinching adherence to the cause of the empress Maude, and her son Henry, whose principal stay and hope he was. To King Stephen he was an enemy as bitter as he was formidable; and such was the extent of his power and influence, that he maintained in the field, many a doubtful conflict with the monarch of the whole realm. Of the domestic government of his own *little state* we know little, and probably it claimed but a very inconsiderable portion of his attention; but there is no evidence that his *subjects* made the slightest resistance either to his civil or military sway.

COAT ARMORIAL SAME AS RANDAL 1.

HUGH II.—SIXTH EARL.

Hugh the Second, surnamed *Cyvelioek* from his being born in the province of that name, situate in that part of Wales anciently called Powys, succeeded his father in the earldom A.D. 1153. He is represented by the historian, in fortitude and valour not unlike to his noble father, but greatly inferior to him in wisdom, and the government of his own passions. He performed many valiant acts, and by his sword made purchase of the land called Bromfield, from the Welsh, his most inveterate enemies. When the son of Henry II. took up arms against his father, and waged an unnatural war for the possession of the crown, earl Hugh, with the two Roberts, Earls of Derby and Leicester, joined his standard and was engaged in several hostile conflicts. In 1173, the Earl of Chester, and Rafe de Filgiers of Normandy, had nearly succeeded in possessing themselves of all the provinces belonging to the king in Little Brittain, in France; but were finally overthrown by the forces of king Henry, in a decisive battle. The vanquished were compelled to retreat, and sought a place of security in the castle of Dole. Hither the victorious Henry pursued the fugitives, who, having no hopes of succour, and seeing no possibility of escape, surrendered themselves and the castle, on the 26th of August in the last-mentioned year. They were led captives into Normandy, and kept prisoners in Falois. But, after a year's imprisonment, or thereabouts, king Henry and his son were reconciled, upon which the King of Scots and this Earl of Chester were put to their ransom, which says Webb the said Hugh paid, and got him home, being taught by his folly to be more wise afterwards, and lived peaceably and prosperously the rest of his days. According to Hoveden, however, as cited by Sir Peter Leycester, the imprisonment of the earl must have been nearly four years, for he says, that "in 1177, at a parliament at Northampton, in January, both Robert Earl of Leicester, and

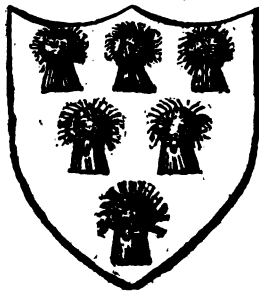
Hugh Earl of Chester, were restored to all their lands by the king;" unless we suppose, that notwithstanding his release from captivity at the end of a year, his lands remained in a state of sequestration till the parliament at Northampton gave them back to him.

Of this earl I find nothing more worthy of being recorded. He married Bertred, daughter of Simon Evereux, in Normandy, who survived him. By this lady he had issue Randal, who succeeded to the earldom, and four daughters, Maude, Mabill, Agnes, and Avis, who were all very honourably bestowed in marriage; Maud to David Earl of Huntingdon, Mabill to William D'Albainy, Earl of Arundel; Agnes to William Ferrers, Earl of Derby; and Avis to Robert Quincey, a baron of great honour, and in her right Earl of Lincoln.—He had also base issue two sons and two daughters, one of the latter of whom was married to Raufe Manwaring, some time Judge of Chester, an ancestor of the present family of Peover, in Cheshire.*

* In our present days of refinement, there is a stigma of disgrace attached to illegitimate children, which was unknown to former times; for although from a very early period, they were excluded from hereditary succession to honours and property, when there was legal issue, yet they generally shared bountifully in the gifts and bequests of the reputed father; and their matrimonial alliances were as honourable as if legitimately descended. This is particularly exemplified in the history of this period. Our Cheshire antiquary has given us several illustrations of this fact. In speaking of *Geva*, a natural daughter of Hugh Lupus, Sir Peter says, "Because of the civility of those ages, she was styled only daughter of Earl Hugh, not base daughter, whence some have supposed her to be a legitimate daughter." And again, "As for the usual custom in ancient times, of omitting that infamous title of *bastard*, Robert Earl of Gloucester, base son of Henry the First, is termed only *brother* of Maude the empress, by Hoveden; also in a charter made by Maude the empress herself, he is styled *brother*, not *bastard-brother*. Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, another bastard of Henry I. is called *uncle* to Henry the Second." "Neither were bastards in those elder ages of such disrepute as now in our days: *Memini me alicubi legisse* (saith Spelman in his glossary on the word *Bastardus*) *Priscos Septentrionales Populos etiam Spurios admittisse in successione*; and where he further tells us, that King William the Conqueror began his letter to Alan Earl of Little Britain, as he did many other more, in these words:—*Ego Willielmus cognomento Bastardus*; of which title it seems he was not ashamed, otherwise he would never have used it himself."

Earl Hugh the Second ended his days at Leek, in Staffordshire, in the year 1181, after being in possession of the earldom 28 years. He made some grants of lands to religious houses, but does not appear to have been so liberal a patron of the church as several of his predecessors.

COAT ARMORIAL OF HUGH CYVELLOK.



RANDAL III.—SEVENTH EARL.

Randal the Third, surnamed Blundeville, succeeded his father in the earldom. He is reputed the most famous of all his predecessors, not only for military prowess, which in those days held the first rank in the cardinal virtues, but for his wisdom and prudence; he was the principal counsellor and agent to four of the English monarchs, Henry II. Richard I. King John, and Henry III. The first of these monarchs knighted him, and gave him to wife Constance,* the widow of Geoffrey his fourth

* *Gualdus Cambrensis*, in company with Archbishop Baldwin, visited this city in 1189; and as it would argue a want of diligence and observation in a traveller and historian to pass by such a visit without having something *extraordinary* to communicate, gives us the following *important* information respecting the Earl's wife:—"Constance, countess of Chester, kept a herd of milch kine, made cheese of their milk, and presented three to the Archbishop—that he saw an animal there, the compound of an ox and a stag—a woman born without arms who could sew as well with her feet as others of her sex with their fingers—and finally, that he heard of a litter of whelps begotten by a monkey!"

son, daughter and heir of Conan, duke of Little Britain, and Earl of Richmond, A.D. 1187.

While Richard I. was engaged in the crusades in the Holy Land, his brother John, then Earl of Moreton, was treacherously employed in fortifying the castles, and taking other measures to secure the crown for himself. Randal was foremost in resisting the traitorous designs of prince John, against whom he declared open hostility, and associated with David, brother of the King of Scotland, and Ferrars Earl of Derby, brought a great army against the castle of Nottingham, which was finally recovered for king Richard. Other strong holds were also taken and subdued by his valour to the king's authority.

After the death of Richard, king John ascended the throne, but his turbulent and wayward measures greatly exasperated his subjects, and presented a favourable opportunity for the French king to take part with them against their rightful sovereign. Randal, however, though he had formerly placed himself in direct opposition to the attempted usurpation of John, now that he possessed the crown in his own right, became his most powerful auxiliary; and notwithstanding that he wished reformation in many things that were amiss in the commonwealth, yet would never be drawn to take part with the French in the subjugation of his native country. And when this king, in the midst of his troubles, and before he had settled the state of his kingdom, or driven the French out of the land, departed this life, he warmly espoused the cause of his son, Henry III. then a youth but nine years old, and took upon himself chiefly the defence of the young king; and being assisted by the brave martial Earl of Pembroke, encountered the forces of Lewis and his confederates in many sharp conflicts, and especially in the memorable battle of Lincoln, A.D. 1217, where he slew and put to flight the chief part of the French, with the English rebels, and compelled Lewis to the acceptance of terms, by which he consented to evacuate the kingdom. Among the prisoners taken in this battle, was Gaunt, newly made Earl of Lincoln by the

French king, and upon Randal was conferred this dignity, as well for his high merits in this service, as for his standing next cousin in blood to Romara, to whom that earldom was first allotted, who was brother to John Earl of Cumberland, the father of the first Randal Earl of Chester. For the other exploits, and the character of this earl, I shall here adopt the homely relation of our old historian, William Webb :—

“This worthy earl, after these great services performed by him in England, was drawn by his heroically disposition to the wars in Egypt and Syria, against Saracens and infidels, which he likewise managed with like happy success, and after his many worthy victories, returned home to solace himself in the earldom of Chester; and when the affairs of war gave him leisure, he built the two famous castles of Chartley, in Staffordshire, and Beeston,*

* This ancient castle, standing within about twelve miles of the city of Chester, from its stupendous elevation upon an insulated rock, forms an interesting spectacle to the country around, and may be seen in several directions from a distance of upwards of thirty miles. A brief account of its history and present state is proposed in this note, which is principally taken from Hanshall's History of Cheshire. The period of its erection is fixed in the year 1220, soon after the return of Randal Blundeville from the Holy Land. John Scot, the last local monarch of Cheshire, dying in 1237, Henry III. previous to possessing himself of the earldom, seized on the castles of Chester and Beeston, and Hugh de Spenser, Stephen de Legrave, and Henry de Audley, were appointed commissioners for the purpose. In 1256, prince Edward paid a visit to his palatinate, and inspected the fortresses; and Fulco de Orreby, justice of Chester, was placed in charge of the “castles of Chester, Beeston, Dissard, Schotewyke, and Vaenor.” In 1264, the partisans of Simon de Montford possessed themselves of Beeston Castle; but the news of the escape of prince Edward from Hereford, the following year, stimulated his Cheshire friends, and James de Audley, and Urian de St. Pierre, made themselves masters of this almost impregnable fortress. About June, the prince, accompanied Humphrey de Bohun, Henry de Hastings, and Guy de Montford, his prisoners at the battle of Evesham. In the fifth year of Edward II. Robert de Holland was appointed governor of the castle; and in the 32nd of Henry III. prince Edward, Earl of Chester, nominated Robert de Houghton to the constablership of Beeston, and to receive the produce of the lands and tenements of John de St. Pierre, *durante placito*, at the salary of £4. per ann.—In 1399, Beeston Castle received a garrison of 100 men at arms, and was well victualled by order of Richard II. who made it the depot of his treasures, to the value, as Stow reports, of 200,000 marks, which were subsequently carried to Chester. The name of “the haughty

in Cheshire. He founded also the abbey of De-la-Cross, towards which he raised a toll throughout his countries and jurisdictions, and was a great benefactor to the professors of religion, according to those times being himself very devout; as appeared at a perillous storm and tempest at sea, as he sailed homeward out of Syria, where no danger could daunt his courage; but heartening and encouraging his sailors in a dark night, with cheerful words and his own hard labour, to play the men till midnight, saying, *Then we shall be safe*; which so

Bolingbroke" operating here, the fortress was abandoned. During the short peace between Henry VI. and his successor, the castle was given to the Duke of York, who being declared heir to the throne, it was enumerated in the list of manors and castles appurtenant to the crown, A.D. 1406.—Eighty years after this, Leland describes the fortress as being in a state of ruin; but during the desolating wars of Charles I. and his parliament, a party of 300 of the "Roundheads" got possession of it in the night of Feb. 21, 1642, and put it in a state of defence. On the 13th Dec. 1643, a little before day, Captain Sandford, a devoted royalist, who came out of Ireland with eight of his firelocks, crept up the steep hill of the castle, and got into the upper ward, of which he took possession, although it was deemed "most impregnable." Captain Steele, who then commanded in it for the parliament, was tried for cowardice, and suffered death for it on Monday, January 28, 1644, but it was supposed unjustly, inasmuch as some of his men betrayed symptoms of fear, and he himself did not feel safe in trusting to them. "What made much against Steele (says Burghall in his diary) he took Sandford down into his chamber, where they dined together, and much beer was sent up to Sandford's men, and the castle, after a short parley, was delivered up, Steele and his men having leave to march, with their arms and colours, to Nantwich; but as soon as he was come into that town, the soldiers were so enraged against him, that they would have pulled him to pieces, had he not been immediately clapped in prison. There were much wealth and goods in the castle belonging to gentlemen in the neighbourhood, who had brought it thither for safety, besides ammunition and provisions for half a year at least; all which the enemy got." On the 20th October, 1644, the parliament's "council of war," at Nantwich, hearing that the enemy at Beeston were in want of fuel and other necessaries, laid close siege to it; but on the 17th of March following, it was relieved by prince Rupert and prince Maurice, at the head of a strong force: they plundered nearly the whole of Bunbury parish, and burnt Beeston hall. In the following month it was again besieged. A mound, still visible on the north-east side of the hill, was raised, moated round, and fortifications erected upon it; but the king approaching from Shropshire, the works were abandoned, and the parliamentarians marched towards Nantwich. On the 4th of June the garrison sallied out, and assaulting Ridley-hill, were driven back with loss.—After the battle of Rowton, the parliamentary troops again set down before the castle in the latter end of

came to pass indeed : and whereupon he said, *Now I persuade myself, that the Monks did, indeed, arise at midnight, according to their institutions, to joyn in their prayers for us, which, together with our true endeavour, hath through God's mercy freed us from this danger.* He was a famous defender of the liberties and freedoms of his country, and drew unto him the assistance of many others, in the suppressing and punishing of Hubert, a chief justice of England, who had caused king Henry to be strict, and carry a heavy hand towards his people, touching their privileges and charters formerly established.

September ; and after undergoing a siege of seven weeks, it was surrendered on the 16th November. Burghall thus notices it :—" Nov. 16, Beeston Castle, that had been besieged almost a year (at different periods) was delivered up by Captain Valet, the governor, to Sir William Brereton : there were in it 56 soldiers, who by agreement had liberty to depart with their arms, colours flying, and drums beating, with two cart loads of goods, and to be conveyed to Denbigh ; but twenty of the soldiers laid down their arms, and craved liberty to go to their own homes, which was granted. There was neither meat nor drink found in the castle, but only a piece of a turkey pie, and a live peacock and peahen." Soon after the taking of Chester, in 1646, Beeston Castle was dismantled, and has since been sinking into the beautiful ruin which it now presents. The remains of the castle occupy the side of a hill, which rises with a regular but steep ascent, to the brink of a lofty and inaccessible precipice ; the walls of the outer court, in which are now some large stone quarries, are of considerable extent, of an irregular form, with several towers ; at the gate of entrance are two circular towers ; the entrance under the gateway is very narrow, under rugged steps, formed out of the natural rock ; the keep is surrounded by a deep ditch, sunk in the solid rock, over which is a draw-bridge. The remains of this venerable fortress form a striking object in the scenery of a large surrounding district. The site of the castle being alienated from the earldom by Elizabeth, was granted to Sir Christopher Hatten, from whom it is supposed the Beestons purchased it ; it has descended with the manor to the present proprietor, Sir Thomas Mostyn, Bart. who takes considerable care in preserving the remains of this once formidable fortress from further dilapidation. There has long been a traditionary belief among the peasantry, that this ancient castle will one day be restored to its pristine glories. To this supposed restoration, Leyland alludes in some latin lines, which are thus translated by Bishop Gibson, in his edition of Camden :—

" Randal returning from the Syrian land,
This castle raised, his county to defend,
The borderer to fright and to command.
Though ruined here the stately fabric lies,
Yet, with new glories it again shall rise,
If I, a prophet, may believe old prophecies."

What should I speak of his honourable victories in Britain and Anjou; his winning of the castles of Gomer, New-Chattel, and other places; his famous exploits in Normandy, against the French, and the renown he won himself in those parts, being left by the king thereto finish that, which himself could not in many years bring to pass: As also, that he left no mean glory behind him in the excellent parts of wisdom and knowledge that was in him, having compiled a book of the laws of the realm with great judgment, to show his studious inclination to all virtues requisite in an absolute governor. He was also for estate such as might well gain him to be accounted the greatest subject in the kingdom; being possessed of five earldoms together; whereof, first, he had Chester by birth and inheritance; as, also, that of Lincoln, his due by birth, and his reward by service; and of three others, namely, Huntingdon, Britain, and Richmond, to all which he came by right of his wives."

Sir Peter Leycester, at the close of his account of this earl, subjoins the following notices, the receipt of which he acknowledges from the antiquary, Dugdale:—This Earl Randal was but of low stature, as we may observe from the words of the Earl of Perch to him at Lincoln. *What (said he) have we staid all this while for such a little man, such a dwarf?* To whom Earl Randal replied, *I vow to God and our Lady, whose church this is, that before to-morrow evening, I will seem to thee to be higher than that steeple.*—King John gave to this Randal Newcastle-under-Lyme, in Staffordshire, to hold by the service of one knight's fee; and also the custody of all Simon Montford's lands, with the forests, to the use of the said Simon. King Henry the Third, gave to him the custody of the honour of Lancaster, and the castle of Mountsorrel, which Randal demolished; he gave also to Randal the custody of the honour of Brittany, in the counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and he executed the office of sheriff by his deputies, in the counties of Stafford, Salop, and Lancaster. The same king gave him likewise all that part of the honour of Richmond,

which he formerly had of the grant of King John, to hold for Randal's life upon condition that he should make no agreement with the Earl of Brittany to surrender the same up to him, unless the Earl of Brittany could obtain those lands in Normandy, which the Earl of Chester had lost in the service of King John. Independent of these grants, this earl was immensely rich; in 1280, he purchased of Roger de Mersey all the lands which he had between Ribble and Mersey, in Lancashire, an extensive tract of country. Randal, as before noticed, married to his first wife Constance, widow of Geoffrey, fourth son of Henry the Second, and daughter and heir of Conan, Duke of Little Brittain, and Earl of Richmond. This lady was divorced by him in 1200, after being married thirteen years. Although he assumed the two titles of his countess during their living together, yet he never adopted them after the divorce. He afterwards married Clemens, sister of Geoffrey de Filgiers in Normandy, and widow to Alan de Dinnam. Some ancient writers affirm, that Randal was married to a third wife; but this is disproved by Sir Peter Leycester, who shews that Clemens survived the earl, and produces evidence that she sued out her dower.

This earl ended his days at Wallingford, in Berkshire, in the year 1232, having possessed the earldom fifty-one years. He was buried in the Chapter-house at Chester.

Randal had no issue by either of his wives, leaving his whole inheritance to be shared by his four sisters, as before mentioned in the notice of Hugh Cyveliok.

The distinguished pre-eminence of Randal Blundeville, during his long and active government, is a topic that has elicited peculiar notice from all those writers who have treated of our ancient palatinate, and will warrant me in adverting to two or three incidents of more than common interest,

In the preceding sketch of his public life, enough has been advanced to shew the high character he sustained, and the important authority he held, in respect of the general affairs of the kingdom. The following instance will still further illustrate this fact. In 1232, when Henry III. assembled a parliament in London, he made a formal demand for large sums of money from the great men, for the discharge of those debts which had been incurred by his recent wars. The Earl of Chester, with a boldness correspondent with his high station, resisted the demand, and in the name of the English nobility, told him, that the earls, barons, and knights, who held of him in capite, had personally attended him in the service, and in that service having expended a large portion of their property, it was unreasonable that they should be required to furnish further supplies. To this representation, Henry was compelled to yield acquiescence, and the grant was absolutely refused.

That this renowned earl reigned the sole and uncontrolled monarch of his own dominions, with an absolute and sovereign power; that he acknowledged no superior, whenever the behests of his paramount lord were contrary to the maxims of sound policy, or to those dictates of natural justice which he thought a wise and virtuous prince always owed to a faithful and obedient people—was strongly illustrated in all his acts of government. Of this, says Dr. Gower, there was a remarkable instance, when that weak prince, Henry the Third, issued his imperial mandate for the collection of the *papal-tax*—commonly called *Peter-pence*—through the whole extent of his dominions; since our Cestrian monarch not only forbade the collection of it within the bounds of his own territories, but threatened the collectors with condign punishment, if they insolently disobeyed his royal pleasure. Amongst other historians, of the most approved character, who relate this fact, William Smith, in his *Vale Royal*, gives us the following, and by far the best, account of the transaction:—"Randel, or Ranulph, the

Third, he says, was very well learned, especially in the laws of the realm; insomuch that he compiled a book thereof. For we read, that when the Pope sent his collectors throughout Christendom to gather up his *tenths*, he *alone* refused to pay any: suffering none in his dominions, either layman or clerk, to yield any tenths to the Pope's proctors; *although all England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland paid it.*"

As the incident which gave rise to the establishment of the famous *Cheshire Minstrels*, occurred during the earldom of Randal de Blundeville, I shall take the opportunity of introducing their history in this place, with the transaction which gave rise to their exclusive privileges. This will bring us down to a period, much lower than that of which we are now treating, but, as before remarked, I regard it preferable to trace the history of any subject from its origin to its conclusion, rather than divide it into different patches, and thus make it occupy distinct and various places in the work. And first of the incident itself, the most probable account of which is given by Dr. Gower, in his "Sketch of Materials," as follows:—

"Amongst the military achievements of the renowned Earl Randal, his heroic enterprizes against Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, were not the least instances of his undaunted prowess. But being one day surprised, and surrounded in his castle of Rhuddlan, in Flintshire, by a force infinitely superior to his own; he sent expresses with the utmost privacy, to his great general, Roger Lacy, constable of Chester, during the anniversary of the Midsummer fair. And, as the occasion was critically urgent, from the imminent peril of the earl's life, this general immediately collected and marched with a tumultuous crowd of *players, fiddlers, musicians*, and all the loose persons he could possibly assemble—of whom great numbers had been tempted to Chester, by the celebration of this festal anniversary.* Llewelyn, alarmed at the

* It may be naturally supposed, from the circumstance of Hugh Lupus having granted a charter of protection to outlaws, thieves, and vagabonds,

approach of this vast multitude, raised the siege with the utmost precipitation. And after earl Randal's return in triumph, the effusions of his gratitude formed his first act of sovereignty, by rewarding Lacy with an *exclusive prerogative* over those particular *trades* and *mysteries*, which had been exercised by these fortunate and signal instruments of his royal preservation. The constable's son, John Lacy, reserved his *exclusive privilege* over some of those mechanic occupations, but granted the *minstrel prerogative* to Hugh Dutton, of Dutton, and his heirs, the son of that Dutton who is supposed to have particularly marched at the head of the band of *minstrels*. Thus consigning the rule and jurisdiction over this musical profession, to that family whose ancestor had so valiantly commanded them in the capacity of a body of victorious soldiers."

Sir Peter Leycester gives the original deed of the constable of Chester, to Hugh Dutton, by which the latter was vested with the minstrelsy jurisdiction; and then proceeds thus;—"I find in the records of Chester, *inter placito*, 14 Henry VII. a *quo warranto* brought against Laurence Dutton, of Dutton, Esq. why he claimed all the minstrels of Cheshire, and in the city of Chester, to meet before him at Chester yearly, at the Feast of Saint John the Baptist, and to give unto him at the said feast *quatuor Lagenas Vini, et unam Lanceum*, that is, four bottles of wine and a lance; and also every minstrel to pay unto him at the said feast four-pence half-penny; And why he claimed from every *whore* in Cheshire, and in the city of Chester, *officium suum exercente*, fourpence to be paid yearly at the feast aforesaid. Whereunto he pleaded prescription."—After this time we hear nothing of any other controul exercised by the family of Dutton, than that over the minstrels;* an authority recognized by several

during the festival, that our fairs at this period would be crowded with all the off-scourings of the country of both sexes, and that a numerous army might easily be furnished from such a motley groupe.

* It is probable that the *advocaria meretricum* continued till the public stews at Chester were suppressed by proclamation, in the reign of king Henry VIII.

acts of parliament, which exempt the minstrels of Cheshire from the penalties of those acts by which all wandering fiddlers and minstrels are deemed rogues and vagabonds.*

This right was exercised by the Duttons, and their representatives the Gerards and Fleetwoods, as long as they continued in the possession of the Dutton estate; and though not originally attached to the estate, but vested in the heirs of Dutton, yet it appears to have been alienated with it. The minstrel, or minstrelsy courts, were, till a few years of their disuse, held annually at Chester, on St. John Baptist's day (being the day of the midsummer fair) by the heir or lord of Dutton, or his steward. A banner, or pennon, emblazoned with the arms of Dutton, was hung out of the window of the inn where the court was held, and notice given by a drummer proclaiming in the streets, and summoning all persons concerned to appear at the court within certain hours. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the procession moved from the inn in the following order:—A band of music—two trumpeters—licensed musicians, with white napkins across their shoulders—the banner, borne by one of the principal musicians—the steward on horseback, with a white wand in his hand—a taberder, his tabard emblazoned with the arms of Dutton—the lord or heir of Dutton (if present) attended by many of the gentry of the county and city, on horseback. In the middle of the Eastgate-

* In the statutes of Elizabeth c. 5. and 39 Elizabeth c. 4. this right of the Duttons is recognised and saved: in 43 Elizabeth c. 9. the saving clause was continued only one year, unless before the end thereof John Dutton, Esq. and his heirs, should procure the lords chief-justices, and the lord chief-baron, or two of them, after hearing his allegations and proofs, to make certificate into chancery, to be there enrolled, that the said John Dutton, or his heirs, ought lawfully (if no statute against rogues or beggars had been made) by charter, tenure, or prescription, to have such liberty of licensing of minstrels, as he claimed and used. In statute 1 James I. c. 25, the right was recognised without limitation, so that the proof required by the last statute was probably added; and a similar saving clause is contained in statute 17 Geo. I. cap. 5.

street, a proclamation* was made, to give notice of the holding of the court, after which the procession moved forward to the church of St. John the Baptist: on entering the chancel, the musicians, by notice from the steward, played several pieces of serious music upon their knees; after which divine service was performed, and the heir or lord of Dutton specially prayed for. After the service another proclamation† was made, and the procession then returned to the inn in the same order that it came; entertainments were given to the lord's friends and to the musicians; in the afternoon a jury‡ was impannelled from among the licensed musicians, to whom a charge§

* "O-yez, O-yez, O-yez.—This is to give notice to all musicians and minstrels, that the court of the honourable Charles Gerard Fleetwood, Esq. (descendant heir of Eleanor, sole daughter and heir of Thomas Dutton, of Dutton, in the county of Chester, Esq. by Sir Gilbert Gerard, son and heir of Thomas lord Gerard of Gerard's Bromley, in the county of Stafford) is this day held at the house of Robert Cluff, at the Eagle and Child, in the Northgate-street, Chester, where all such musicians and minstrels, as do intend to play upon any instrument of music for gain, within the county of Chester, or within the county of the city of Chester, are required to appear and take licence for the year ensuing, otherwise they will be adjudged and taken up as rogues and vagabonds, and punished accordingly.—God save the king, and the lord of the court."

† "God save the king, the queen, the prince, and all the royal family, and the honourable Charles Gerard Fleetwood, Esq. (heir descendant of that ancient worthy family of the Duttons of Dutton, in Cheshire, and of the right honourable family of the Gerards of Gerard's Bromley, in the county of Stafford); long may he live and support the honour of the minstrel's court."—The two foregoing proclamations were in the time of Mr. Gerard Fleetwood, who about the year 1745, sold Dutton and the advowry of the minstrels, to R. Lant, Esq. of Putney, in Surry.

‡ Among other articles, the jury was to inquire of any treason against the king, or the earl of Chester, likewise whether any man of their profession had exercised his instrument without licence from the lord of the court; and what misdemeanors they had been guilty of; and whether they had heard any language amongst their fellows tending to the dishonour of their lord and patron, the lord of Dutton.

§ The following charge was given by the steward of Mr. Lant, at one of the last courts:—"Gentlemen of the Jury—The oath which you have just now taken, seems to make it proper to say something by way of charge; otherwise your own knowledge and experience would have rendered it quite

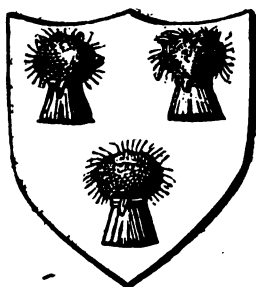
was given by the steward; the jury then gave in their verdicts and presentments; an oath* was administered

unnecessary; but as the duty of the office of steward of this honourable court, and your oath require that a charge should be given to you, I shall beg leave to take up a little of your time, and say something to you concerning this honourable court; the duty and privilege of musicians in this city and county of Chester, and your duty as jurors.—The records relating to this honourable court, which are still preserved, show it to have been of great antiquity; and the readiness and zeal which the musicians heretofore shewed in redeeming their prince when he was surrounded by his enemies, have been the means of perpetuating their service, and of establishing this honourable court, which Mr. Lant, the present lord of the manor of Dutton claims, and the privileges thereto belonging, from Roger Lacy, constable of the castle of Chester, who raised the siege of Rhuddlan castle, and brought the prince in great triumph to Chester; some of which privileges are, that all musicians shall appear and do their suit and service at this court; and no musician shall play upon any instrument for gain, without having a licence from the lord of Dutton, or his steward of this court; and if any person does presume to play for gain, without such licence, he is not only liable to be prosecuted by a due course of law, but also to be punished as a rogue, vagrant, and vagabond; these privileges have been confirmed and allowed by several acts of parliament, and Mr. Lant is determined that the power and authority of this court shall be preserved, and that none shall exercise the employment of a musician for gain, without a licence from him or his steward; and therefore, gentlemen, he expects, and the oath you have just taken requires, that you should inquire of all such persons playing upon any instrument of music for gain, either in the county of Chester, or the county of the city of Chester; and if you know, or are properly informed of any such, you are to present them to this court that they may be proceeded against, and punished according to law; which the lord and the steward thereof are determined to do, with the utmost severity."

* Form of the oath to a musician or minstrel:—"You are hereby required to behave yourself lively, as a licensed minstrel of this court ought to do, during the time that you are licensed to play upon any instrument of music, or minstrelsy, within the said county of Chester, or county of the city of Chester, and you shall inform the lord of the court, or his steward, or deputy for the time being, if you know of any person that shall play upon any instrument of music for gain or reward, within this city, or within the county of Chester, not having first obtained and had his or their licence so to do. So help you God."—Or as follows:—"You are hereby required to behave yourself lively, as a licensed minstrel of this court ought to do. You shall not at any time play upon any instrument of music, within the county palatine of Chester, nor within the county of the city of Chester, for hire, gain, or reward, without the licence of this court first had and obtained; neither shall you know nor suffer any person to play upon any instrument of music, within the said county or city, for gain, hire, or reward, not having the licence of this court so to do; but you shall make the lord of this court acquainted thereof,

to the musicians, and licences granted to all who were adjudged worthy, authorising them to play upon their musical instruments within the county and city of Chester, for one year. Some years before these courts were dis-used, they had been held only occasionally, at intervals, sometimes of two or three, sometimes of four or five years, and the attendance on them was much lessened; the fee for a licence was 2s. 6d. In 1754, there were twenty-one licences granted; the last court was held in 1756, R. Lant, Esq. being then lord of Dutton, and possessing the advowry of the minstrels by purchase.* Thus terminated the incorporated body of Chester minstrels, after having been in existence and exercised its legalized functions for upwards of five hundred years.

COAT ARMORIAL OF RANDAL III.



or his steward; and in all other respects you shall demean yourself according to the purport and true meaning of your licence. You shall give your yearly attendance upon the court, so long as you intend to play upon any musical instrument for gain, within either of the said counties, to take a licence for the same, and are able so to do. So help you God."

* Lyson's Mag. Britan.

JOHN SCOT—EIGHTH EARL.

Randal III. having died without issue, the next in succession to the earldom, and the last who exercised regal jurisdiction, was John, surnamed the Scot, being son of Maude, eldest sister and co-heir to Randal Blundeville. His father David, brother of William King of Scotland, was knighted by King Henry II. and made Earl of Huntingdon, so that this John was Earl of Chester and Huntingdon. This earl seems to have entertained a high view of his prerogative, conceiving that he could not lawfully be called upon to answer out of his own county, excepted against a summons in Northamptonshire, upon a writ *de rationabili parte*, brought against him there by the other co-heirs of Randal Blundeville. He was, however, ordered to answer.

This earl, (as before noticed) carried the sword before King Henry the Third, at his marriage with Queen Eleanor, A. D. 1236; at which time all the great men of the kingdom exercised those offices and places, which had of ancient right belonged to their ancestors at the coronation of the kings. This is the first time, says Selden, in his Titles of Honour, speaking of the title of earl palatine in England, that in express words he found the Earl of Chester called *Earl-Palatine*; nor had he observed the word *palatine* to be applied so with us, before Henry the Second's time, or thereabouts. In a comment upon this passage of Selden, Sir Peter Leycester remarks, "That although the county of Chester be frequently called a *county-palatine*, as well in our laws as in common language, as *comitatus palatinus*, or *counter-paleys*, corruptly for *county-paleis*, as sometimes it is in our law books; and although indeed it be truly a county palatine, and hath so continued ever since the first gift to Hugh Lupus, unless we except the short time while it was a principality, statute 21 Rich. II. cap. 9. which was repealed

1 Henry IV. cap. 3.; yet neither in their summons to parliament, nor in any other writ directed to them, were they styled *earl-palatines*; neither do I see testimony to persuade me, that when the first grant was made to Hugh Lupus, it was granted to him by the name of *earl-palatine*. But this earldom being given him with such liberties, and kind of regal jurisdiction, as count-palatines of territories in foreign parts had, it has therefore since been called a county-palatine, and the earls thereof palatines. Now to be earl palatine, was to have possession of a county or earldom *ad regalem potestatem in omnibus* under the king. And to this day the county palatine of Chester hath had a chamberlain, who supplieth the place of chancellor; and also justices, before whom the causes, which of their nature should otherwise belong respectively to the king's bench, and common pleas, are triable; a baron of the exchequer, a sheriff, and other officers proportionable to those of the crown at Westminster."

This earl was married to Helen, daughter of Llewelyn, prince of North Wales, A.D. 1222, an union projected by Randal de Blundeville, and intended to cement perpetual amity between him and Llewelyn, the Cambrian monarch. John retained but a brief possession of the earldom, departing this life at Dernhall, in Cheshire, on the 7th day of June, A.D. 1237, having been earl of Chester somewhat less than five years. Most of our old historians ascribe the death of this earl to his wife Helen, who is more than suspected of having poisoned him. He died without issue, but left four sisters, three of whom were allied by marriage to some of the first families in the realm. In this earl terminated the male line of the Earls of Chester, having governed the palatine with an absolute sway for a period of about one hundred and seventy years.

In closing his account of our Cheshire monarchy, old Camden observes, that there being no male issue, "Henry the Third, charmed with the sight of so fair an inheritance, annexed it to the crown, not being willing that

such a vast estate should be *parcelled* out among *distaffs*—meaning the sisters and co-heiresses of Earl John. But the kings of England, when this county devolved to the crown, maintained their ancient palatine prerogatives, and continued to hold their courts—as the kings of France did in the county of Champaign—that the honour of the palatinate might not be extinguished by disuse. An honour which was ever afterwards conferred upon the king's eldest son ; and in the first instance, upon Edward, heir apparent to this very Henry. But when this martial prince had unhappily been taken prisoner in the battle of Lewes, he was obliged to regain his liberty by plucking this inestimable jewel out of his princely diadem, and resigning it to the victorious baron, Simon Montford, Earl of Leicester ; as the valuable reward, and indeed the only adequate purchase of his ransom.*

The county and city have ever shown a laudable tenaciousness in maintaining their peculiar immunities. In the reign of king Henry VI. an attempt was made to infringe the privileges of the palatinate, by the parliament held at Leicester, which issued a commission for levying a subsidy in Cheshire, in common with the other counties. Upon information of this violation of their rights, the abbots, priors, and clergy, the barons, knights, esquires, and commons of the city and county, presented a petition to the king,† A.D. 1450, in which their claims to an

* Simon Montford, being soon afterwards slain in the battle of Evesham, the Palatinate reverted to the crown ; and Richard the Second, by a solemn act of the whole legislature, erected it into a principality, as a splendid augmentation of his royal titles, styling himself *Princeps Castrie*. His successor, Henry the Second, repealed this act, and restored those palatine prerogatives which it had so long enjoyed.

† The following is a copy of the petition presented to his Majesty :—
 “ Most christian, benigne, and gracious King ; We, your humble subjects, and true abaisent liege people, the abbots, priors, and all the clergy ; your barons, knights, and esquires ; and all the commonalty of your county palatine of Chester, meekly prayen and beseechen your highness : where the said county is, and hath been a county palatine, as well before the conquest of

exemption from the authority of parliament were set forth with becoming force and clearness. The prayer of their petition was allowed; they were discharged of the levy

England, as continually since, distinct and separate from the crown of England; within which county, you, and all your noble progenitors, sithen it came into your hands, and all rulers of the same, before that time, have had your high courts of parliament to hold at your wills, your chancery, your exchequer, your justice to hold pleas, as well of the crown, as of common-pleas. And by authority of which parliament, to make, or to admit laws within the same, such as he thought expedient and behovefull for the weal of you, of the inheritors, and inheritance of the said county. And no inheritors or possessions within the said county, be not chargeable, lyable, nor have not been bounden, charged nor hurt, of their bodies, liberties, franchises, lands, goods, nor possessions within the same county, have agreed unto. And for the more proof and plain evidence of the said franchises, immunities, and freedoms; the most victorious King William the Conqueror, your most noble progenitor, gave the same county to *Hugh Lup* his nephew, to hold as freely to him and to his heirs, by the sword, as the same king should hold all England by the crown. Experience of which grant, to be so in all appeals and records out of the same; where, at your common-law it is written, *contra coronam et dignitatem vestram*: It is written in your time, and your noble progenitors, sith the same earldome came into your hands, and in all earles times afore, *contra dignitatem gladii Cestrie*. And also, they have no knights, citizens, ne burgesses, ne ever had, of the said county, to any parliament holden out of the said county, whereby they might in any way of reason be bounden. And also ye, and your noble progenitors, and all earles, whose estate ye have in the said earldome, as Earles of Chester, sith the conquest of England, have had within the same; *Regulem potestatem, jura regalia prerogativa regia*. Which franchises notwithstanding, these be your commissions directed out to several commissioners of the same county, for the levy of subaldes, granted by the commons of your land, in your parliament, late begun at Westminster, and ended at Leicester, to make levy thereof within the said county, after the form of the grant thereof, contrary to the liberties, freedoms, and franchises of the said county, and inheritance of the same, at all times, before this time used. That it please your noble Grace, of your blessed favour, the premises graciously to consider. And also, how that we your beseechers, have been as ready of our true hearts, with our goods, at times of need, as other parts of your land; and also ready to obey your laws and ordinances, made, ordained, and admitted within the said county. And if any thing amongst us, ready to be reformed by your highness, by the advice of your council, within the said county. And hereupon to discharge all such commissioners of levy of the said subsidy within the said county. And of your special meer grace, ever to see that there be never act in this parliament, nor in any parliament hereafter, holden out of the said county, made to the hurt of any the inheritors, or inheritance of the said county, of their bodies, liberties, franchises, goods, lands, tenements, or possessions, being within the said county. For if any such act should be made,

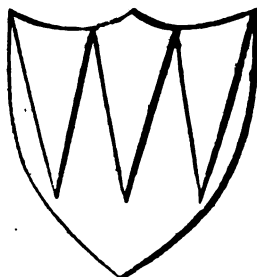
of the subsidy, and their separate jurisdiction and privileges were recognised and again confirmed in the year 1568, by queen Elizabeth, who by her patent of that date, acknowledges the powers of the justice of Chester, and of the chamberlain, an officer whose jurisdiction is described as being analogous to that of a chancellor. It is declared by the same patent, that all pleas of lands and tenements, and all contracts, causes, and matters, arising and growing within the said county (except in cases of error, foreign plea, or foreign vouch) could legally be tried within the county of Chester only; and that the president and council of the principality of Wales had no jurisdiction within the county or city of Chester. For the enjoyment of their liberties, on the accession of

it were clean contrary to the liberties, freedoms, immunities, and franchises of the said county. And as to the resigning of such possessions, as it hath liked your highness to grant unto any of your subjects; all such as have ought of grant within the said county, will be ready to surrender their letters pattents, which they have of your grant, for the more honourable keeping of your estate, as any other person or persons within any other part of your land; or else they shall be avoided by us, under your authority committed unto us, within your said county. And furthermore, considering that your beseechers are, and ever have been true, dreading, obaisant, and loving unto you, and of you, as unto you; and of our most dowed sovereign lord, our earl and natural lord: We, the said barons, knights, esquires, and commons, are ready to live and die with you, against all earthly creatures; and by your licence to shew unto your highness, for the gracious expedition of this our most behoveful petition. And we the said abbots, priors, and clergy, continually to pray to God for your most honourable estate, prosperity, and felicity, which we all beseech God to continue with as long life to reign, as ever did prince upon people; with issue coming of your most gracious body, perpetually to reign upon us, for all our most singular joy and comfort."

To this petition, his Majesty caused the following answer to be returned:—"The king's will is, to the subsidy in this bill contained; Forasmuch as he is learned, that the beseechers in the same, their predecessors, nor ancestors, have not been charged afore this time, by authority of any parliament holden out of the said county, of any *quindisme*, or subsidy, granted unto him, or any of his progenitors, in any such parliament; That the beseechers, and each of them, be discharged of the paying and levy of the said subsidy. And furthermore, the king willeth, that the said beseechers, their successors and heirs, have and enjoy all their liberties, freedoms, and franchises, as freely and entirely as ever they, their predecessors, or ancestors in his time, or in time of his progenitors, had and enjoyed it."

every new earl, the county was to pay a fine of 3000 marks, called a mize.*

COAT ARMORIAL OF JOHN SCOT.



BARONS OF THE ANCIENT EARLS.

As soon as the first Earl of Chester was invested with his dignity, he began to exercise his regal prerogatives. In imitation of other *monarchs*, he formed his parliament by the creation of a number of barons, eight in number, with whom were probably associated, either at that time or soon afterwards, an equal number of ecclesiastical dignitaries.† And that the majesty of his palace might

* Vale Royal—12—15.

† In that portion of *King's Vale Royal* written by Lee, this proposition is maintained in the following terms :—There were also in the earl's parliament, several earls spiritual, who were to assist in all matters concerning the laws of God, and of holy church : The exact number is not certain neither ; but it is very probable there were no fewer than the temporal, in point of policy ; and that after the several abbies were founded, that the abbots of each monastery had their session in this council, is to be deemed very proper, seeing, even in the great council of the nation, there were no less than sixty-four abbots and thirty-six priors summoned to parliament in the 49th year of king Henry III. and at last, when their number was fluctuating, twenty-six mitred abbots voted among the barons of the land. Now, seeing we find in the recital of ancient records, mention made of several abbots in his council, I should conceive that the bishops, whose choirs were placed within the

correspond with that of other potentates, he instituted from among his temporal barons offices of state. Hence the Baron of Halton was made constable of Cheshire in fee, in imitation of the lord high-constable of England; and the Baron of Montalt, steward of Cheshire in fee, after the example of the lord high-steward of England. The barons under the earl, though inferior in point of dignity to the barons of the realm, ranked next to the earl himself within the palatinate, and had great power and privileges in the county. They took their titles from the chief seats of their baronies; and their dignity, although local, was hereditary. The history of this little aristocracy is involved in great obscurity at the present day, and has occasioned numerous disputes among our Cheshire historians. I shall, however, set them down as I find them enumerated, in priority and dignity, by our native antiquary Webb, from Spelman and Camden, with a short sketch of their respective pedigrees, as adopted by subsequent writers of our county history.

- 1st. Baron of Halton, Constable of Cheshire.
- 2d. Baron of Montalt, High Steward.
- 3d. Baron of Wich-Maldebeng, or Nantwich.
- 4th. Baron of Malpas.
- 5th. Baron of Shipbroke.
- 6th. Baron of Dunham Massey.
- 7th. Baron of Kinderton.
- 8th. Baron of Stockport.

precincts of the earl's territories, being superior to abbots in the eminency of their place and dignity, were admitted with greater respect than the former. Nay, I find one Herveius, bishop of Bangor (as being under the earl Hugh's dominion, who had conquered as far as Anglesey) subscribing to the donation of several lands and charters to St. Werburgh's monastery. We shall therefore, till further light, set down his two bishops and two abbots, as the barons spiritual of this earldom, sitting in parliament at Chester. Now although the six abbots were not all extant in the time of the first earl; yet before the decease of Rannulf, the second of that name, earl of Chester, they were all fixt in their *pontificalibus*:—viz.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. The Bishop of Chester. | 5. The Abbot of Stanlaw. |
| 2. The Bishop of Bangor. | 6. The Abbot of Norton. |
| 3. The Abbot of St. Werburgh's. | 7. The Abbot of Birkenhead. |
| 4. The Abbot of Combermere. | 8. The Abbot of Vale Royal. |

It has been maintained by some of our antiquaries, that Robert Fitzhugh, who was baron of Malpas, was the prime baron in the conqueror's time, as having for the most part the priority in the deeds and writings of those ancient times, and also in the record of the *doomsday book*, where among all the barons he is put down first. By this document it also appears, that this baron held more land in the county, than any of the others, except William de Malbedeng. It is nevertheless clear, from indubitable evidences, that Nigel, the first baron of Halton, took precedence of the rest, by virtue of his office of constable; and after him, the baron of Montalt, high-steward. In proof of this order of enumeration, Sir Peter Leycester recites a charter of Randal the Second, in which we find the words *Optimates* and *Barones* explaining and elucidating each other; and we have also pre-eminence given to the constable of Chester, above all the other barons of the earl. This likewise appears by the form of all the charters made by the earls, where the style runs thus:—*Rauulphus comes Cestria, constabulario, depifero, baronibus, &c. salutem*; the constable first, then the steward, and afterwards the barons in general. This order being settled, I proceed to their enumeration:—

NIGEL, FIRST BARON OF HALTON, cousin to Hugh Lupus, was created constable of Chester, whose assigned service was to lead the vanguard of the earl's army, when he made any expedition into Wales; he had also the charge and government of the military forces, horse and foot, and the munition appertaining to the earl's wars, which doubtless involved a high responsibility. William, son of the above Nigel, succeeded his father in his barony and office, which he enjoyed until the reign of King Stephen. This William had a daughter named Maude, who married Eustace, a Norman, by whom she had a son named Richard Fitz-Eustace, who after the decease of William, was in right of his mother, created Baron of Halton, and constable of Chester. He married Albreda de Lizours, and sister of Robert Lacy, Lord of Pontefract, by whom he had a son named Roger, who first assumed

the name of Lacy for himself and his posterity. Lacy lord Pontefract dying without issue, all his possessions descended to his sister Albreda, and afterwards to his nephew Roger, son of Richard Fitz-Eustace, and the said Albreda. This Roger is mentioned in ancient records, as having been constable of Chester, when king Richard I. took his journey into Syria; he also continued constable of Chester in the reign of king John, when he died; and left a son named John, who succeeded him in his honours, acquired great renown, and took an active part with the barons against king John. He was twice married, first to Alice, daughter of Gilbert Aquila, by whom he had no issue, and afterwards to Margaret, daughter and co-heiress to Robert Quinsey, Earl of Lincoln, whose earldom he eventually inherited. Alice, daughter and heiress to Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who died in 1310, married Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, who became in her right constable of Chester. Blanch, daughter and co-heiress to Henry Duke of Lancaster, brought the barony of Halton in marriage to John of Gaunt, fourth son of King Edward III. and the castle is said to have been one of his favourite residences. From him the barony descended to his son, Henry Bolingbroke Duke of Lancaster, who having deposed King Richard II. became King of England by the name of Henry IV. since which time the barony of Halton has been annexed to the crown, and been esteemed part of the duchy of Lancaster. It is at present held by a lease from the crown, by the present Lord Cholmondeley.

MONTALT, or as it is now called Mold,* must have been a post of the greatest importance to the earls of

* Mr. Willett, in his Memoir of Hawarden Parish, seems unwilling to admit what the general current of history has assumed, that *Montalt* should be exclusively applied to *Mold*, and contends that *Hawarden* has a superior claim to the ancient appellation. After quoting several ancient inquisitions, which he thinks favour his position, and an opinion of Sir Peter Leycester adverse to it, Mr. Willett proceeds as follows:—"Now as Hawarden and Mold were the principal seats of the barony, the accidental accordance in the names, Mold and Montalt, might easily lead to such a mistake, and indeed

Chester, as commanding one of the approaches to the city from Wales. The first baron, who was created high steward to Earl Hugh, must on this account, it seems probable, have been one of the greatest consideration to the city, as keeping in check those restless and daring enemies to the Norman invaders, the neighbouring Welsh. His name was Robert, he received his honours and estates from Lupus, which continued in his family, with some reverses from the fate of war, till the first of Edward III. when the last baron of Montalt, also of the name of Robert, dying without issue, passed his estates to Isabel the queen mother, but on her disgrace, they fell to the crown.

WILLIAM DE MALDEBENG, Wich-Malbank, or Nantwich, was a relative to Hugh Lupus, and the first baron of Nantwich; he fixed his seat in that town, where he built a castle. Hugh the second baron, gave a fourth part of the whole barony to the abbey of Combermere, which he founded. William the third baron, died in the reign of Edward I. without male issue, leaving three daughters, Philippa, Auda, and Eleanor, between whom the barony was divided. The manors and portions allotted to each, are recorded, also the transfer and descent of each, to this day, but the detail is here unnecessary. Philippa, the eldest, married Thomas, Lord Basset, of Haddington, by whom she had three daughters, viz. Philippa, Joan, and Alice, who all married, and between whom the portion of Philippa was sub-divided. Auda, the second daughter of William de Malbank, married

it might receive its name from the owners; but to call the small mount (at Mold) upon which the baron's residence was *Mons Altus*, though nearly surrounded by high and mountainous grounds, seems to be a misnomer, whereas Hawarden, Penarlŷg, the *headland above the lake*, may be said to be fairly translated into *Montalt*, more particularly when seen from the seat of the earldom over the marshes; and in the early inquisitions above noted, Hawarden appears to be the principal seat of the barony. Moreover, when David the son of Llewelyn, invaded the lands of Roger de Montalt, one article in the record made between Henry and Llewelyn was, the restitution of his lands in Hawarden to Robert, the successor of Roger de Montalt. Hawarden, *Mons Altus*, gave name to the barony, and the baron gave name to Mold."

Warin de Vernon, Baron of Shipbrooke ; their son Warin left a son of the same name, who died without issue, and three daughters, Margaret, Auda, and Rose, who all married, and among whom this portion of the barony was divided. Eleanor, the youngest daughter of Baron William, died unmarried, and bequeathed her estate to the Audley family. In the year 1597, Sir Hugh Cholmondeley died, seized of the greatest part of the barony of Nantwich, having, it is stated, had thirty out of thirty-six parts. All these estates, except the Audley fee, and the Countess of Warwick's fee, which have been long in the Crewe family, and now the property of Lord Crewe, have continued in the Cholmondeley family, and are now the property of the present Marquis Cholmondeley, and Baron of Nantwich.

ROBERT FITZHUGH, Baron of Malpas, where he had a castle, of which the keep remains, near the church, left no male issue. In the reign of Richard I. the barony passed in right of his co-heiresses by moieties, to Robert Patrick, and David Belward, or le Clerk. The daughter, and eventually sole heiress of the last of the Patricks, brought this moiety into the Sutton family. On the death of William de Malpas, son of David le Clerk, without lawful issue, his illegitimate son David, possessed himself of his father's moiety, which was inherited by the posterity of his two daughter, to the exclusion of the lawful heirs ; Beatrice, one of these daughters, brought a fourth part of the barony, in marriage, to the Suttons, in whom nearly the whole appears to have been vested in the reign of Henry VII. In or about the year 1527, John Sutton lord Audley, conveyed the manor and castle of Malpas, and three-fourths of the barony, to George Robinson and others. In 1536, he alienated another portion of the barony, and large estates in Malpas and elsewhere, to Sir Rowland Hill. In 1560, Sir Rowland settled a fourth of the barony and large estates in the parish on his niece, Alice Greetwood, who married Sir Reginald Corbet. Sir Richard Corbet, his son, sold in 1587 to Sir Randal

Brereton, of Shocklach, whose daughter and heiress married Sir Richard Egerton. This property is now vested in the Earl of Cholmondeley, whose ancestor purchased from the Egertons, in 1636. The remainder of the barony and estates in Malpas, became vested by descent, and partly by purchase, in the Breretons of Brereton, from whom they were purchased in the reign of Charles II. by Sir William Drake, ancestor of Thomas Drake Tyrwhitt Drake, Esq. the present proprietor. The barons of Malpas, in common with the other barons, had the power of life and death at their courts, and it appears that criminals convicted of felony, were punished by beheading, which, in a record of the reign of Edward II., was spoken of as the custom of Cheshire; it appears also, that it was customary to present the heads of all felons that had been so executed, at the castle of Chester. This power was exercised by the several possessors of the moieties and fourth parts of the barony of Malpas. In the sixth year of Edward II. David Bulkeley, sergeant of the peace to Richard Sutton, presented the heads of two felons executed for burglary; and Hugh Cholmondeley, sergeant of the peace to John de St. Pierre, presented the head of Thomas Barnes, executed for theft, and had his fee, called the rudyng (riding) fee.—*Harl. MSS. 2079, pp. 124 and 131.*

RICHARD DE VERNON, another of Hugh Lupus's barons, was the first who settled at Shipbroke. Warin Vernon, the fifth baron in succession, and son of Warin, who had married one of the co-heiresses of the Baron of Nantwich, left three daughters, co-heiresses, married into the families of Wilbraham, Stafford, and Littlebury. Ralph Vernon, rector of Hanwell, younger brother of Warin, had a long suit with his nieces concerning the barony, and it was at last determined by award, that Ralph should have one half of the baronial estate, including Shipbroke, the seat of the barony, and the manor of Minshul Vernon. This estate was settled by deed on his illegitimate son, Sir Ralph, who lived to the age of one

hundred and fifty, as appears by law proceedings respecting the Vernon estates. This Sir Ralph had issue male, both by his first wife Mary, daughter of Lord Daere; and by Maude Grosvenor (widow of John Hatton.) In the year 1325, he made a settlement upon the marriage of his grandson, or as some pedigrees have it, his great-grandson Sir Ralph, with Agnes, daughter of Richard Damory, chief-justice of Chester. By this deed, in the event of failure of male issue from Sir Ralph and Agnes, the Vernon estates were settled on Richard, eldest son of the above-mentioned "Sir Ralph the Old," by Maude Grosvenor (passing by Thomas, a younger son, by lord Daere's daughter), whose descendant, James Vernon, some years afterwards, contested the validity of the deed, and after considerable litigation, there seems to have been a compromise, for James Vernon, and his posterity recovered Haslington, but Shipbroke, with its barony or moiety, passed to the descendants of Richard. On the death of Sir Ralph Vernon the younger, who by his wife Agnes Damory left only a daughter, married to Hamo le Strange, Shipbroke was inherited by Sir Ralph Vernon, son of Richard, on whom the estate had been entailed. This Sir Ralph leaving no male issue, Shipbroke passed to his younger brother, Sir Richard Vernon, slain at the battle of Shrewsbury, leaving two sons. Sir Richard, the eldest, who died in France, left an only daughter, married to Sir Robert Foulhurst; and Sir Ralph, who inherited Shipbroke. Ralph Vernon, son of the last-mentioned Sir Ralph, left an only daughter and heiress, Dorothy, married to Sir John Savage, K.G. who was slain at the siege of Boulogne, in 1492. In consequence of this marriage, the Savages inherited a moiety of the barony with the manor of Shipbroke, and the royalties of Davenham, Leftwich, Moulton, Shurlach, and Warton, which were sold in the early part of the last century, by John, the last earl of Rivers, to Mr. Richard Vernon, of Middlewich, who demised them to Henry Vernon, Esq. of Hilton, Staffordshire, one of the lineal descendants of Sir William Vernon, a grandson of Warin the third baron of

Shipbroke. Mr. Vernon procured an act of parliament to sell this estate in 1764, since which time it has passed through several hands.

HAMO, THE FIRST BARON OF DUNHAM MASSEY, in the time of Hugh Lupus, held his barony from the Earl of Chester by military service, being bound to attend the king in time of war, with a certain number of horse and foot, and immediately to call out his whole posse if an enemy's army should come into Cheshire, or if Chester castle should be besieged. Hamo, the fifth baron of Dunham died without male issue about the year 1341, having sold the reversion of Dunham and other estates to Oliver Ingham, justice of Chester, whose heirs for a while possessed it, but not without disturbance from the Fittons. John Fitton married the elder sister and co-heiress of the last baron of Dunham Massey, the heiress of Fittón married into the Venables family, and the co-heiress of William Venables, of Bollin, having married Robert, afterwards Sir Robert Booth, the claim was by him renewed in the reign of Henry VI. and it was at length agreed that Sir Robert should have one half of the manors of Dunham Massey, Altrincham, and Hale. This Sir Robert Booth was a younger branch of the Booths, of Barton-lane, and half-brother of Lawrence Booth, Archbishop of York. Having partly succeeded in his claim, he settled at Dunham Massey, which by subsequent purchasers became wholly vested in his descendants. Sir George Booth, the seventh in descent from Sir Robert, was created a baronet in 1611, on the first institution of that order; his grandson of the same name, was created Baron Delamere of Dunham Massey, at the coronation of King Charles II.; and Lord Delamere's son Henry, the second Lord Delamere, was created Earl of Warrington, by King William. Mary, only daughter and heiress of George Booth, the second and last Earl of Warrington of that line, who died in 1758, brought the barony of Dunham Massey to Henry Grey, Earl of Stamford, grandfather of George Harry, the present earl, who had the

title of Warrington conferred on him by a new creation in 1796.

KINDERTON was the ancient seat and name of the barony which was given by Hugh Lupus to his kinsman, Gilbert de Venables. This barony is stated to have included upwards of seven and thirty townships, which are enumerated in the *Harl. MSS. No. 1967, fol. 104.*—The celebrated family of Venables produced a race of warriors: Sir Roger Venables fought on the side of Henry III. during the barons' wars; his son, Sir William, distinguished himself in the war of king Edward I.; Sir Hugh, grandson of Sir William, was a commander under the Black Prince; Sir Hugh's grandson and name-sake was constable of Cheshire, and acquired great renown in the wars against the Scots; his son Sir Richard, was slain at the battle of Shrewsbury, on the side of Mortimer; Sir Hugh Venables, great grandson of Sir Richard, was slain at Blore-heath, in 1459; dying without male issue, the manor and barony of Kinderton passed to his aunts and co-heiresses, who married into the families of Bostock and Cotton. Sir Thomas Venables, the heir male of this ancient family, became repossessed of the barony, partly by the marriage of his father with a co-heiress of the Cottons, and partly by agreement, after a long litigation, with the Bostocks. The manor and barony continued with his descendants, who were called barons of Kinderton, till the death of Peter Venables, the last baron of Kinderton, in 1679, when the barony and Kinderton estates passed in marriage with his daughter, to Montague Earl of Abington. This daughter died without issue, when according to entail, by the will of Peter the last baron, the estates reverted to his sister Mary, who married Thomas Pigot, Esq.; their daughter and heiress Ann Pigot, brought the barony by marriage to Henry Vernon, Esq. whose grandson was, in 1762, ennobled by the title of Lord Vernon, of Kinderton. The estates and ancient barony of Kinderton, still remain vested in the present Lord Vernon.

THE BARONY OF STOCKPORT has given rise to many learned disputes among antiquarians, some affirming that it was the seat of one of the barons of Hugh Lupus, which others are disposed to doubt; among the latter was the very learned Sir Peter Leycester, who, although the arms of the barons of Stockport were formerly to be seen in the old exchequer court in Chester castle, did not think this conclusive, as he regarded those paintings by no means of ancient origin. In remarking upon this passage, the authors of the *Magna Britannia* observe, it is possible, nevertheless, that not long after the conquest there might have been a baron of Stockport, as descended from the family of de Stockport; but that family is not traceable to a more remote period than Henry III. The manor and castle of Stockport belonged soon after the conquest to the de la Spencers. In the reign of Henry III. it was held by Sir Robert de Stockport; and some have supposed that the ancestor of this Robert was one of Hugh Lupus's barons. Joan, daughter and heiress of Richard de Stockport, brought the manor to Sir Nicholas de Eton, whose daughter Cicely, having married Sir Edward Warren, ancestor of the Warrens of Poynton, their son John, on failure of male issue from the Etons, succeeded to the manors of Stockport, Poynton, &c. the property of the late Lord Viscount Bulkeley, in right of his wife, only daughter of Sir George Warren, K. B. It may be observed, that there are documents extant, shewing the jurisdiction of the other Cheshire baronies, but we find nothing of this kind relating to the barony of Stockport; and in the records of the reign of Henry III. and Edward I. it is spoken of not as a barony, but only as a manor. It appears also (temp. Henry VII.) that the proprietor of the *lordship*, or *manor* of Stockport, in the plea to a *quo warranto*, claimed only the privilege of punishing *minor offenders*, viz. by the pillory, tumbrel, and cucking-stool,*

* *Cucking-stool*, an instrument principally invented for the punishment of scolds, and lewd women, by ducking them in water, called in ancient time a *tumbrel*, and sometimes a *trebuchet*. In Doomsday it is called *cathedra stercoris*, and it was in use even by the Saxons, by whom it was described to

whereas the barons, both temporal and spiritual, had the power of life and death. The exercise of this power has already been noticed.

THE BARONS' CHARTER.

Of the high dignities of the Cheshire barons, perhaps the best idea may be formed from the charter of Randal Blundeville, which I find translated to my hand, by the author of our county antiquities, and which is as follows:—

“Randal, Earl of Chester, to his constable, steward, judge, sheriffs, barons, bailiffs, and to all his tenants, and friends, present and to come, that shall see or hear this charter, sendeth greeting.—Know ye, that I being signed with the cross,* for the love of God, and at the request of my barons of Cheshire, have granted to them and their heirs, all the liberties in this present charter under-written, to have and to hold for ever: to wit, that every one of them may have his own court free from all pleas and complaints moved in my court, except such pleas as belong to my sword.† And if any of their tenants shall be

be cathedra, in qua rixosæ mulieres sedentes aquis demergebantur. It was anciently also a punishment inflicted upon *brewers* and *bakers*, transgressing the law; who were thereupon in such a stool immersed over head and ears in *stercore*, some stinking water. This instrument is described as consisting of a long beam, or rafter, moving on a fulcrum, and extending to the centre of a large pond, on which the end of the stool used to be placed. This mode of punishment must have continued with us till towards the close of the sixteenth century. It appears by the plea to a *quo warranto*, in the reign of Henry VII. that the Earl of Kent, as lord of the manor of Tarporeley, claimed by ancient custom the right of punishing *scolds* by the *thew*, which is defined in the record to be the punishment of being placed on a certain stool, called a cucking-stool. In the same reign, among other regulations formed for the government of the guild and town of Lichfield, it was ordained, “that if there be any mis-ruled woman of her body, that is called a common sinner, that the constable shall sit her upon the *cuck-stool*.” The Lichfield historian adds, “from the numerous entries of payments for its repair, this mode of punishment seems to have been often resorted to; in the bailiff’s accounts for the town, 1577, is the following item:—For making a cuck-stool, with the appurtenances, eight shillings.”

* Those were said to be signed by the cross in these ages, who had undertaken a voyage to Jerusalem in defence of the Holy Land; and as a badge of their warfare they wore a cross on their right shoulder.—*Speiman*.

† The pleas of the sword, were the pleas of the dignity of the Earl of Chester, who held that carldom as freely to the sword, as the king held England to the crown.

taken for any offence within their fee or lordship, he shall be replevied without any reason, so as his lord bring him to three county courts, and then he may carry him back as acquit, unless *sakerborh** do follow him. And if any stranger (who is faithful) shall come upon their land, and desire to dwell there, it shall be lawful for the baron of that fee to have and retain him, saving to me the advowries who shall come to me on their own accord, and others, who for any trespass elsewhere, shall come unto my dignity and not to them. And every one of my barons, when need requireth, shall in time of war do the full service of so many knights' fees as he holdeth: And their knights and freeholders shall have their coats of mayle and haubergeons; and may defend their own land by their bodies, although they be not knights: And if any of them be such a one, that he cannot defend his own land by his body, he may put another sufficient person in his place. Neither will I compel their villanes to take arms; but I do hereby acquit their villanes, which by *Randal of Davenham* shall come to my protection, and other their villanes, whom they can reasonably shew to be their own. And if my sheriff, or any officer, shall implead any of their tenants in my court, he may defend himself by *thirtnic*† for the *Sheriff's Tooth*, which they do pay, unless fresh suit do follow him. I do also grant unto them acquittance from the corn and oblations, which my serjeants and bedels were wont to require; and that if any judger‡ or suitor of the hundred or county court, shall be amerced in my court, the judger shall be quit from his amercement for two shillings, and the suitor for twelve-pence. I do also grant unto them liberty of inclosing their lands within the boundaries of their tillage in the forest. And if there shall be a land, or parcel of ground within the boundary of their township, which hath been formerly manured, where no wood groweth, it shall be lawful to till the same without grazing: And they may also take *housebote*§ and *haybote*|| in their woods, of all manner of wood, without the view of my forester, and may give or sell their dead wood to whom they please, and their tenants shall not be impleaded for the same in the forest court, unless they be found in the manner or very act. And every one of my barons may defend all his manors and lordships in the county or hundred court, by having a steward present. I do also grant that the wife, upon the death of her husband, shall remain peaceably in her house forty days: And the heir (if he be at age), shall have his heritage for reasonable relief, to wit, five pounds for a knight's fee: Nor shall the widow, nor the heir, be married where they may be disparaged, but shall be married by the free assent of

* *Sakerborh*, *Sakber*, and *Sakcraber*, is as much as a pledge to sue: one that puts in surety to prosecute another.---*Spelman*.

† *Thirtnic*, or *Thirndnitch*, is *Trium Noctium hospes*.---*Hoveden*. Here it seemeth to signify three nights' charges for the *Sheriff's Tooth*. *Sheriff's Tooth* was a common tax levied for the Sheriff's diet.

‡ It is in the deed *Judex*, which is sometimes taken for a judge, sometimes for a jurymen, or freeholder; which freeholders are by law the judges of a court-baron.

§ *Housebote*, a compound of *house* and *bote*, i.e. *compensatio*, signifies *estocera*, or an allowance of necessary timber out of the lord's wood, for the repairing of a house or tenement.

|| *Haybote* is a liberty to take thorns and other wood, to make and repair hedges, gates, fences, &c.; it is also said to be wood for the making of rakes and forks, with which men in summer make *hay*.

their kindred. None of them shall lose his villane, by reason of his coming into the city of *Chester*, unless the same hath remained there a year and a day without claim. And in regard of the great service which my barons do me in *Cheshire*, none of them shall do me service beyond the *lime*,* but at their own free will, and at my cost. And if my knights from England shall be summoned, which ought to ward at *Chester*, and are come to keep their ward, and that there be no army of my enemies at present from some other place, and that there be no need, then my barons may in the mean time return unto their own houses, and take their ease. And if an army of my enemies be ready to come into my land in *Cheshire*, or if the castle be besieged, the aforesaid barons, upon my summons, shall immediately come with all their army, to remove the enemy according to their power. And when that army of the enemy shall retreat out of my land, the said barons may return to their own homes and rest, while my knights from England keep the guard, and that there shall be no need of my barons, saving unto me the services which the barons ought to do. I do also grant unto them, that in time of peace they may have only twelve sergeants itinerant in my land, with one horse of the master-sergeant, which shall have no provend from Easter to Michaelmas, but by curtesy. And that the sergeants eat such meat as they shall find in men's houses, without buying any other provision for their use: Nor shall they eat in any manor-houses of the barons. And in the time of war shall be appointed sergeants sufficient for the keeping of my land, by my advice, and by the advice of my judge and barons as need shall require. And you are to know, that my barons aforesaid have, for them and their heirs, released to me and to my heirs, the petitions under-written which they desired from me; so that they can challenge nothing hereafter of them, but by my free favour and mercy:

“To wit, my steward hath released his petition of *Wrec*, and of fish cast upon his land by the sea, and liberty of shooting deer in my forest for three shoots, and for the running of his dogs.

“Others their petition for lay of their swine in my forest, and shooting at deer for three shoots, and for running their greyhounds in the forest going to *Chester*, upon summons, or in returning, and also the petition of the amercement of the judgers of the *Wich* of thirty *walms* of salt: But the amercements and laws of the *Wich* shall be such as they were before.

“I do therefore grant, and by this present deed confirm, from me and my heirs, to all my common knights and gentlemen of *Cheshire* and their heirs, all the aforesaid liberties, to have and to hold of my barons, and of other their lords, whosoever they be, as the same barons and knights, and other gentlemen hold the same of me, these being witnesses: Hugh, Abbot of *St. Werburge* of *Chester*, Phillip *Orreby*, then Judge of *Chester*, &c.”

[The above charter was confirmed by Edward, son of Henry III. both while he was Earl of *Chester*, and after his coming to the crown.]

* That is, out of the limits of the county.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS IN THE TIME OF
HUGH LUPUS.

Before I finally quit our ancient monarchy, I shall take leave to present the reader with the following curious document which is translated from the great doomsday, where it stands as a kind of preface to the Cheshire survey; and which I believe was never before published in an English dress. The original is given by Sir Peter Leycester (p. 395), and by Mr. Ormerod (vol. i. p. 171), but which, however, not one person in a thousand can understand. It is not only descriptive of the state of the city in several important instances, in the time of Hugh Lupus, but contains likewise several laws and regulations of Edward the Confessor, which were adopted by that earl, and which then governed our Cestrian ancestors. There is nothing more common among us, than to eulogize the wisdom and virtue of the olden times, and to disparage the age in which we live; even our grandmothers relate with rapture the simplicity and modest manners of young men and maidens of *their* youthful days, and adopt with apparent sorrow the common axiom, that the world is growing worse every day. This is generally the whining cant of those whose narrow minds have no perception of our moral or civil improvements, or of such as, being dissatisfied with their condition and every thing connected with their station, refer the enjoyment of comfort and happiness to every place and to every period but their own. I cannot but think, however, that the time and attention of these admirers of ancient laws, customs, and manners, would be profitably employed, in contrasting those of the present day, with what the following document develops :—

*Translation of a Transcript out of the Greater
Doomsday Book.*

The city of Chester, in the time of King Edward [the Confessor], was gildable [i. e. taxable] for 50 hides ; 3½ hides which are without the city (that is, one hide and a half over the bridge, and two hides in Newton and Redcliffe, and in the borough of the Bishop) these were gildable with the city.

In the time of King Edward there were, in the city itself, 436 gildable houses, and besides these the Bishop had 56 gildable houses. This city then paid 10½ marks of silver, two parts were the king's, and the third the earl's. And these were the laws there.

Peace was administered by the hand of the king, or his writ, or by his legate ; if it was broken by any one the king had 100s. thereupon, but if the king's peace, administered by his command through the earl, was infringed, the earl had the third penny out of the 100s. which were given for that offence ; but if the same peace was broken by the *præpositus* [i. e. bailiff] of the king, or the earl's minister, he was fined 40s. and the 3rd penny belonged to the earl.

If any freeman breaking the king's peace slew a man in a house, all his lands and money belonged to the king and he himself became an [utlugh] outlaw ; the earl had the same only from his own man, committing this forfeiture, but to any outlaw, no one was able to restore the peace but through the king.

Whoever shed blood from the morning of the second week day, to noon on Sunday, paid a fine of 10s. ; but from noon on Sunday to the morning of the second week day, the shedding of blood was fined in 20s. In like manner he paid 20s. who did this in the twelve days of the Nativity, and on the day of the Purification of the blessed Mary, and the first day of Easter, and the first day of Whitsuntide, and on the day of the Ascension, and on the Assumption or Nativity of the Holy Mary, and on the feast day of All Saints.

Whoever slew a man on these sacred days, paid a fine of £4. but on other days 40s. Likewise, he who shall make *heinfar* [i. e. taking a servant away from, or loss of a servant by his master] or *forestel* [i. e. forestalling, buying corn, or other merchandise, by the way, before it comes to a fair or market to be sold], on these feast days, or on the Lord's day, shall pay £4. ; on any other days 40s.

A person committing *hangenuitha* [i. e. executing a felon without trial] in the city, gave 10s. but the king's or earl's bailiff committing this forfeiture, paid a fine of 20s.

He who committed *revelach* [i. e. rebellion] or robbery, or offered violence to a woman in a house, each of these offences was fined in 40s.

A widow, if she cohabited with any one unlawfully, paid a fine of 40s. ; but a virgin for the like cause, 10s.

He who seized the land of another, in the city, and could not prove that it was his own, paid a fine of 40s. ; and in like manner he who made a claim to it, and could not prove that it was his own property,

He who wished to relieve his own land, or that of his neighbour, gave 10s. ; but if he was not able, or was unwilling to do so, the bailiff took it into the hand of the king.

He who did not render what gabel [i. e. tax, rent, or service] he owed, at the time appointed, was fined 10s.

If a fire happened in the city, he from whose house it broke out was fined in three ores [one ore 16d.] and he gave 2s. to his next neighbour.

Of all these forfeitures, two parts belonged to the king, and the third to the earl.

If vessels came into or went out of the port of the city, without the king's licence, the king and earl had 40s. for every man who should be on board.

If against the king's peace, and contrary to his prohibition, a ship arrived, the king and earl had as well the ship as the men, and all the things which were therein. But if it came with the peace and licence of the king, they who were in it sold what they had without interruption ; but when it departed the king and earl had fourpence for every lesth [i. e. last or package.] If the king's bailiff commanded those who had marten's skins,* that they should not sell to any one until he had first purchased those that were shown to him, they who disregarded this injunction paid a fine of 40s.

Any man or woman detected in giving false measure in the city, paid a fine of 4s. In like manner, the brewer of bad ale was placed in a chair of filth†, [i. e. *cathedra stercores*] or gave 4s. to the bailiffs.

The king's and earl's ministers in the city received this forfeiture, in whose land soever it should be, whether of the bishop or any other man ; and in like manner, if any one detained that toll above three nights, he forfeited 40s.

In the time of King Edward there were seven mint masters in this city, who gave £7. to the king and earl above the farm, when the money was coined.

There were then xii judices (judges‡), or magistrates in the city,

* A kind of weasel.

† See cucking-stool, n. p. 120.

‡ What the precise duties of these *twelve judges* were, it is difficult at this distance of time to ascertain. It is probable, however, that they exercised a distinct and separate jurisdiction over as many portions of the city as their number consisted of. We know that long before this period, the country had been divided into hundreds and tythings, and it is most likely that our large cities and towns had analogous divisions. With regard to the city of London, this was most assuredly the case, and that these divisions were denominated *Wards*. Thus William Fitz-Stephens, who wrote on the state of London in the reigns of Stephen and Henry II. has the following remark :—" This city, even as Rome, is divided into *Wards*; it has yearly *sheriffs* instead of *consuls*; it has the " dignity of *senators* and *aldermen*; it has under-officers, and according to the quality of " laws, it has several courts, and general assemblies upon appointed days." Spelman, Stowe, and others, in treating of the ancient *Wards*, say, that they are of the nature of hundreds in counties; and as in each hundred there is an officer called the head-borough, or steward, who presides over the hundred, and the court of the hundred, so in those ancient *Wards*, the persons who presided over them were the aldermen; in these courts, before the creation of *Mayors*, which is of more recent date, all offences were punished and suits determined. It is, therefore, a very natural conclusion, that as Chester had twelve *Judices*, or *Judges* at the time, and for some space after the conquest, the city had also as many hundreds or *wards*, over which these aldermen or stewards respectively presided for the administration of justice. When, however, the local government of cities and boroughs was placed in the hands of corporations, with chief magistrates at their heads,

and these were chosen from among the men of the king, and the bishop, and the earl ; if any one of these kept away from the huntret [i. e. hundred court] on the day they sat, without a clear excuse, he paid a fine of 10s. between the king and earl.

For the purpose of rebuilding the wall and the bridge of the city, the prepositus commanded one man to come from each hide of the county ; whosoever man did not come, his lord paid a fine of 40s. to the king and earl ; this forfeiture was over and above the farm.

This city then paid £45 for its farm, and three timbers [one timber contained ten skins] of martern skins ; the third part belonged to the earl, and two parts to the king.

When Earl Hugh received it, it was only worth £30. for it was greatly devastated ; there were 205 houses less than there were in the time of King Edward ; now there are as many there as he found.

Mundret held this city from the earl for £70, and one mark of gold.

He farmed all the pleas of the earl in the county and hundred, except Inglesfield, for £50. and one mark of gold.

The ground on which stands the church of St. Peter, which Robert de Rodelent claimed for teinland [i. e. the land of athane or nobleman] as the county proved [i. e. upon a trial] never belonged to the manor* without the city, but belongs to the borough, and was always in the custom of the king and earl, as well as of the other burgesses.

the wards lost their importance, though in many instances they retain their names, with some inconsiderable portion of their original use. For instance, in Chester, the constables are now appointed for the respective wards, and the king's taxes collected in wards.

* This probably means the manor of Handbridge.



Historical Events.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE EARLS' GOVERNMENT TO THE SIEGE OF CHESTER.

It has already been noticed, that upon the death of John Scott, the last sovereign earl, in 1237, King Henry III. annexed the earldom to the crown. The king bestowed the county on his son Edward, who did not assume the title; and the latter afterwards bestowed it on his son, Edward of Carnarvon, who was the first English Prince of Wales.

From the preceding record, a translation of which is given at length, it appears that in the eleventh century, and probably during the continuance of the independent earldom, the immediate government of the city was vested in *twelve judges*, appointed from the vassals of the king, the earl, and the bishop, each of whom, as being severally entitled to the penalties imposed for various offences, was interested in the decision of the courts of judicature. Most of these criminal laws were obviously local, and the particular fines paid for each offence, and to whom they were payable, are stated in the record.

The government of the city, after the resumption of the earldom by the crown, assumed a new form; for in the year 1242, according to Webb, Pennant, and the Lysons, or by the chronology of Ormerod and Hanshall, in 1257,* it was under the direction of a mayor and sheriffs. The mayor seems to have been the substitute for the constable; an office which, during the period of the Norman earls, was, under them, supreme in all matters military and civil, in both the city and county. The sheriffs

* On a board hung up in the Pentice Court, the first mayoralty bears this date.

appear to have been a new name for bailiffs, who acted under the mayor, in the same manner that the bailiff had been subordinate to the constable.

At the period of the annexation of the palatinate to the crown, and until they were finally subjected, about sixty years afterwards, the Welsh were almost incessantly engaged in the most inveterate hostility against the English monarchs. Of course Chester, on account of its proximity, was naturally adopted as the most suitable depôt for warlike stores and the English soldiery; nor is the remark of Pennaut destitute of foundation, that the city seems to have been a constant rendezvous of troops, and *place d'armes* for every expedition on this side the kingdom, from the times of the Normans to the final conquest of Ireland by William III.

In recording the events and transactions relative to the city, during the period embraced under the present head, considerable doubts have occurred to the author, as to the most clear and acceptable mode of presenting them to the reader. After a careful examination of most of our printed memorials, and many unpublished records, it is but seldom I have been able to find our early historical facts, even the most important of them, given in narrative or detail, or combining their causes with their consequences. This, in general, imposes the necessity of proceeding in a kind of chronological series, but by no means precludes such observations and remarks as may tend to elucidate the different topics as they occur. It may be necessary, however, to apprise the reader, that in this portion of the work, the author has not only availed himself of the information contained in our old chronicles and Cheshire collections, but has also incorporated, in their proper places, the series of chronological events given by *Webb*, in the *Vale Royal*; except in cases where the same subject is treated in a more lucid and satisfactory manner by other hands, when his notices will be altogether omitted. In those instances where that part of the *Vale Royal* written by *Smith* is quoted, his name will be placed

at the close of the quotation. I would only further remark, that the extracts from both our Cestrian antiquaries with a view of keeping them distinct, will be inclosed within brackets [] and printed in a smaller type than the body of the work.

Immediately upon the death of John Scott, the last earl, in 1237, Henry III. in furtherance of his intention of annexing the earldom to the crown, seized on Chester, Beeston, and the other castles in the Palatinate, by his commissioners, Hugh le Despenser, Stephen de Segrave, and Henry de Aldithley; nor does there appear to have been the slightest opposition offered to his measures. In 1255, the Welsh, under Llewelyn ap Gryffydd, made a powerful irruption into this neighbourhood, where they committed great ravages, carrying fire and sword to the very gates of the city, and destroying every thing around on both sides of the river. This hostile attack was inflicted in retaliation for the cruelties perpetrated on the Welsh borderers, by Geoffrey Langley, lieutenant of the county under prince Edward. The following year, prince Edward, who had recently been created Earl of Chester, paid a visit to the city, where he arrived on the festival of St. Kenelm. The royal visitant was received with every demonstration of respect; he was met on the road by the clergy and citizens, remained here three days, received the homage of the nobles of Cheshire, and part of Wales, and afterwards made a military survey of his garrisons in the earldom and principality. The hostile incursions and injuries of Llewelyn yet remained unrevenged, a circumstance that manifests the weakness or imbecility of king Henry; but in 1257, he made some demonstrations for retaliation. With this avowed object, he summoned his nobility to attend with their vassals at Chester, on a certain day, in order to an expedition into Wales; and the bishops were, at the same time, required to appear there on the same occasion. The result of this assemblage is not stated by our historians; but this is certain, that its professed purpose was not carried into

effect. The effectual chastisement of Llewelyn and his subjects, was reserved to entwine the laurel around the brow of the first Edward.

During the war with the barons in 1264, William le Zouch, then justice of Chester, and the citizens, apprehensive lest the city should be attacked by the barons, then in league against the king, or by the Welsh, began to render it more secure by digging a deep ditch, for which purpose they destroyed some houses and gardens belonging to the abbey of Chester, in Bagge-lane.* It appears that the fears of the citizens were not without cause, but their precautions seem to have been ineffectual, for we are told by our historians, that the Earl of Derby, in the course of the same year, came to Chester with a great army, and took possession of the city and castle for the barons. After king Henry and his son Edward had fallen into the hands of Simon de Montfort, they made peace with that powerful baron by investing him with the earldom of Chester, and his son Henry went to Chester in his father's name, received the homage of the citizens and of the nobles and freeholders of the county, and having made Luke de Taney justice, after a stay of ten days, departed. The next year, James de Audley and Urian de St. Pierre came to Chester, and with the concurrence of the citizens, besieged Luke de Taney the justice, and his adherents, for ten weeks, but without effect, the castle being in an excellent state of defence; but after the battle of Evesham, which proved fatal to Montfort and his party, Taney, hearing that prince Edward had arrived at Beeston Castle with some noble prisoners, and that he was advancing towards Chester, surrendered the castle, and threw himself upon the mercy of the king, who, after a short imprisonment, set him and his adherents at liberty.†

* There is no lane of this name at present in existence in the city, nor have I been able to trace it in any of the ancient maps. It was probably on the spot now called Wall's-lane, near the Northgate.

† Mag. Britan.

In the year 1272, Edward I. ascended the throne, and from the commencement of his reign gave strong indications of his determination to subject the principality of Wales to the English crown. This monarch was here in 1276 and 1277; in the former year he came for the purpose of summoning Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, to do his homage, who refusing to comply, he returned the next year with an army, and marching from Chester, he took Rhuddlan castle, and made it a strong fortress.

[1280.—David Lord of Denbigh, being reconciled to his brother the prince Llewelyn, against whom he had been a traitor, upon condition he should never after serve the King of England, but become his utter enemy, laid siege to the castle of Hawarden, and took therein Sir Roger Clifford, knight, slaying all that resisted, and after spoiling all the country.]

[1281.—Llewelyn Prince of Wales came down from the mountain of Snowden, to Montgomery, and was at length taken at Blinch Castle, where using reproachful words against the Englishmen, Roger le Strange ran upon him, and cut off his head, leaving his dead body upon the ground. Sir Roger Mortimer caused the head of Llewelyn to be set upon the Tower of London, crowned, with joy; this was the end of Llewelyn, who was the last Prince of Wales of the Briton's blood, that bare rule in Wales.]

Again we find Edward I. in the city, in the year 1282, where he resided from the 6th of June till the 4th of July, in which period he granted to many persons protection that their corn and other provisions might not be seized for the use of the king's forces; and to others safe convoys for the purpose of victualling the army. The following year, having been victorious in his expedition against the Welsh, he was at Chester with his queen, and attended mass in St. Werburgh's church on St. Augustine's day, on which occasion, as related by the chronicle of that abbey, he presented the convent with a cloth of great value. In 1284, the same king was at Chester for four days in the beginning of September; and again passed through the city on the feast of St. Nicholas in 1294, on his march to Wales, to suppress the rebellion of Madoc. And in this city was received in 1300 the final submission of the Welsh to the sovereignty of England, by Edward of Carnarvon, the first English Prince of Wales, when the freeholders of the principality did fealty for their respective lands.

[1307.—It appeareth by an old record, that about this mayor's time (Hugh de Brickhill), the custom of murage was granted unto the city, both here and at Frodsham, for two years, to the reparation and amendment of the walls of the same city, and towards the paving thereof. In the same record is set down the particulars what is to be paid, and for other things that are not therein named, to pay for every two shillings a farthing, which is two-pence half-penny upon the pound. The record doth begin thus:—*Every cranok of all kind of corn shall pay a halfpenny, and of meal and malt a farthing.*—Also, in this year a jury was empanelled to enquire what custom was due at every gate of the city; the names of which jurors were as followeth :—

William Peck.	Waring Blunt.	W. Basingworke.
Richard le Bryne.	Henry Wade.	Thomas Coats.
Gilbert Dunrole.	Robert Strangeways.	Rog. Peacock.
Richard Russell.	Roger Sparke.	Phil. Calf.*]

[1310.—Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and Constable of Chester, and Custos of England, died at London, in his house called Lincoln's-Inn; he was buried in the new work of St. Paul's, whereof he was founder, where a fair monument of stone was raised for him.]

The city was honoured with another royal visit in 1312, when king Edward II. came to Chester to meet his favourite, Piers de Gavestone, on his return from Ireland.

[1322.—Upon the north part of Holland, there was seen upon the shore a strange fish, or sea-monster, playing earnestly with little stones, which the fishermen espying, left their nets, and came secretly on shore; when the monster perceived them to be near unto him, and that he was prevented from running into the sea, because they were between him and the water, he began to run any way; he was quickly overtaken; his head, face, breast, arms, legs, and all his other limbs and members, in every respect were like unto a man; his fingers were nimble enough; they taught him to spin; he would not speak, but sigh often; in five days space he would eat no meat; whereupon they suffered him to go unto the sea side, to see what he would do; and standing there awhile, when he saw his keepers offer to look off him, he ran into the sea, and was seen no more; his skin was smooth and slimy, after the manner of an eel. There was after this another taken, a female, who was kept longer, and taught to spin very orderly; but she spied her time, and stole away into the sea again.†]

[1322.—In this year the New Tower (Water Tower) was built at the cost of the city, by *John Helpstone*, a mason, who conditioned to build the same, as appeareth by an indenture, wherein is the heighth, breadth, and

* The names of the jurors are given as they stand corrected in the Cowper's MSS.

† I do not see what connection this marvellous story has with Chester; but at all events, it has curiosity to recommend it, and old Webb relates it with as much gravity as if he had a thorough conviction of its truth.

length, with the proportion of the same, set down, and was to have for the building thereof £100. as also by the said indenture appeareth.*]

[1345.—This summer was called the dry summer; for from March until the latter end of July, there fell little rain or none, by reason whereof corn was very scant the year following.]

[1349.—The mayor was slain by Richard Ditton, who was pardoned, paying 150 marks, and Richard Bruin succeeded in his place.]

Some popular commotions occurred in the city in 1353, which were principally directed against the justices itinerant, Sir Richard Willoughby and Sir Richard Snarehull, who were obstructed in the execution of their duty. The occasion of this disturbance is not stated, but it probably arose from the dearness of provisions, this year being recorded by Walsingham as a year of great scarcity. Upon this occasion, Edward the Black Prince, and the Earls of Warwick and Stafford, entered the city with an armed force for the protection of the justices. Knighton adds, that the inhabitants, conscious of the enormity of their offences, though they were not particularised, purchased an exemption from the eyre of the justices, by the promise of paying the prince five thousand and sixty marks, in four years.

[1349.—On Monday in Easter week, king Edward with his host lying before the city of Paris, in France, the day was so dark with hail and mist, and so bitter cold, that many men died on their horse backs with the cold; wherefore unto this day it hath been called *Black Monday*.]

[1379.—A bushel of Wheat sold for 6d.; a gallon of wine for 6d.; a gallon of Claret for 4d.; a fat goose for 2d.; a fat pig for 1d.]

A very serious and fatal affray took place in the city, in 1393. A number of desperadoes, among whom were Sir Baldwin de Rudynston, John Hert, Griffith Reynolds, and Roger Wall, purposely excited a riot within the precincts of the abbey, but were finally overcome by the citizens, and driven out of the city, but not without a violent conflict, in which the mayor was ill-treated, one of the sheriffs taken prisoner, and the other severely wounded, or, according to one of the Harl. MSS. killed. This Baldwin, who appears to have been the leader in the disturbance, made his escape into Lancashire; but being

* An account of this erection, with the purposes for which it was built, will be given in our description of the city walls, and of the various towers with which, in early times, they abounded.

assisted by Sir John Stanley, of Latham, appeared in the city, a few days afterwards, at the head of an armed force, consisting of more than three hundred men, with an obvious intention of taking the place by surprise. In this attempt he failed, through the prompt resistance of the citizens, who compelled him to retreat, after taking many of his followers prisoners.—In the following year (1394), Richard II. came to Chester, attended by the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of March, Salisbury, Arundel, Nottingham, Rutland, and others, on his way to Ireland. Towards the close of his reign, this monarch manifested a strong partiality towards the men of Cheshire; at a time when he scarcely knew whom to trust about his person, he selected a corps of two thousand Cheshire archers as his body guard; and in 1398, in the parliament holden in Shrewsbury, “for the love he bare to the gentlemen and commoners of the shire of Chester,” he caused it to be ordained, that from thenceforth it should be called and known by the name of the principality of Cheshire. From this time he assumed the title of Prince of Cheshire; but, as already noticed, in the following reign, this title was annulled. The last time Richard was here, except as a prisoner, was in the year last named, when he was present at the installation of John Brughill, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in the church of St. John’s, then a cathedral of that bishopric, and entertained many of the prime nobility on that occasion.

While Henry of Lancaster, who was in arms against king Richard in 1399, was at Shrewsbury, several gentlemen of the county, among whom were Sir Robert and Sir John Legh, repaired thither to tender their submission and allegiance. From thence he came to this city, where mustering his forces before the walls, he took undisturbed possession of the place and of the castle. His stay here was marked by one or two sanguinary acts of cruelty. He ordered Piers Legh of Lyme, for his faithful adherence to the unfortunate Richard, to be executed, and caused his head to be placed on one of the highest turrets of the castle; and it is also recorded by Hollingshed, that he

imprisoned in the castle the Duke of Surrey, who had been sent to him with a message from the king.

At this time Richard was imprisoned in the castle of Flint, to which fortress he had been conveyed by his enemies. The royal victim was the game that Bolingbroke was in pursuit of, and, accordingly, on the 19th of August he marched for Flint, before the castle of which he drew up his army. A conference with the royal prisoner followed,* the result of which is well known—the king

* The substance of this interesting conference, and of the circumstances that lead to Richard's incarceration, is thus related by the authors of the *Beauties of England and Wales*:—"Richard was met by earl Percy at Conway, who there delivered the purport of his diplomacy. On the king's, who had been too much addicted to reliance on *espionage*, mistrusting the sincerity of the message, and the professed intentions of the earl; the latter, to quiet, or if possible allay the royal apprehension, accompanied him to the temple of the Deity; attended high mass; and at the altar took the oath of allegiance and fidelity. The snare was effectually laid; but when they had proceeded to a defile in the mountainous recesses, near Penmaen Rhos, the king perceived his error in having placed confidence in a sacramental oath, by the appearance of a numerous military band, bearing upon their standards the Northumberland arms. He would have escaped from the decoy, but Percy, springing forward, caught the bridle of his horse, directed his course towards Flint; and the poor deluded prince had only time to reproach the miscreant with his perjury, by observing, that the God he had sworn before that morning would do him justice, and amply retaliate the blasphemous transaction, at the day of judgement. After halting with his royal prisoner at Rhuddlan, for the purpose of refreshment, he conveyed him with that promptitude which is proverbial, because essentially requisite for the completion of treacherous designs, to the castle of Flint. The next day he was received with that mock appearance of respect, which can only be necessary when the last act of wicked conception is to be perpetrated. The next day after dinner, the Duke of Lancaster entered the castle all-armed, his basenet excepted. King Richard came down from the keep to meet him, when Bolingbroke falling on his knees, with his cap in his hand, immediately as he saw the king, assumed, by repeating the same ceremony, a dutiful and respectful appearance. On seeing this apparent act of rational submission, the king then took off his hood, and spoke first. 'Fair cousin of Lancaster, you are right welcome.' The duke bowing still more courteously, replied, 'My liege lord, I am come before you sent for me, the reason why I will show you. The common fame among your people is such, that ye have, for the space of twenty or two and twenty years, ruled them rigorously; but if it please you, my lord, I will help you to govern them better.' Then the king answered, 'Fair cousin of Lancaster, sith it pleaseth you, it pleaseth me well.' The intrigue then had its denouement: the contriver of the plot quickly threw off the mask, and adding insolence to infamy, 'with a high sharpe voyce the duke badde bring

having no other alternative, put himself into the power of the ambitious Henry. On the following day he was brought to this city, and lodged in a tower over the outer gateway of the castle, opposite to Gloverstone, which was destroyed in the late alterations; from whence he was conveyed prisoner to London.

A precept was issued to the Mayor of Chester in 1400, to apprehend and imprison John and Adam Hesketh, because they and their confederates had assaulted the castle, had seized the keys of the Eastgate, had beheaded Thomas Molineux, and made divers proclamations in the city in favour of Richard II. and against the king.

[1401.—About this time an award was made, that no tithes should be paid to the parson of Trinity parish, in Chester, for the Rhodes Eye.]

The year 1409 is remarkable for the mayor, John Ewloe, being removed from the government of the city, which was transferred to Sir William Brereton, a military officer, who was appointed governor by the king. This violent proceeding was occasioned by the displeasure of the king towards the citizens, many of whom had taken part with Henry Percy at the battle of Shrewsbury, for which they were fined, and afterwards pardoned. King Richard II. had rendered himself very popular in this county, particularly by having adopted the Cheshire men for his body guard, and his erection of the county into a principality. Moreover earl Percy, the king's enemy, was well-known and beloved by the citizens, and had filled the office of constable of the castle a few years before. This nobleman issued a proclamation as he passed through Chester on his way to Shrewsbury, in which he appealed to their loyalty in favour of their late unfortunate monarch, whom he affirmed still to be alive. By these arts,

forth the king's horses; and then two little nagges, not worth forty franks, were brought forth; the king was set on the one, and the Earl of Salisbury on the other, and thus the duke brought the king from Flint to Chester, where he was delivered to the Duke of Gloucester's sonne, and to the Earl of Arundel's sonne, that loved him but a little, for he had put their fathers to death, who led him strait to the castle." And thus in this *dolorous castille*, as Halle styles it, was deposed the unfortunate, because inefficient monarch, king Richard II.

numbers of the citizens and county men were drawn to his standard; but after the battle, which proved fatal to Percy and his adherents, a treaty of amnesty was concluded by prince Henry's commissioners with the Chester and Cheshire men, which was enrolled at Chester.

In the commencement of the fourteenth century, our ancestors were enveloped in a thick cloud of mental darkness, when saints and reliques were held in high veneration. Whether the precious *morceau* to which the following document refers, was ever received in Chester, or if so, in what sacred niche it was placed for the adoration of devotees, I have not been able to learn; but the record itself is worthy of preservation as a curiosity, and strongly marks the superstition of the age. The original is written in Norman-French, upon a square piece of vellum, to which two seals are appended, much decayed; and is in possession of Mr. Thomas Walshman, of this city. The translation, as under, is by a gentleman also of Chester, whose valuable services it will be my duty to acknowledge in another place:—

“ Concerning the Confirmation of the Holy Cross.

“ John Gosvenor, Constable of Fronssac, and Henry Van Emeric, Provost of the said place, for our very sovereign lord the King of England and France, and for the very honoured and powerful lord Mr. Thomas Swynbourne, Mayor of Bourdeaux, Captain of the said place of Fronssac for our said lord the king, to all those who these present letters shall see or hear, in causing it to be known how that the praiseworthy man, Henry Champagne, Esquire, and Burgess of the town of Libourne, a long time before his departure from this world, proposed and devoutly intended to transmit into England, to the city of Chester, a great shrine of gold, in which there was a piece of the holy cross on which our Saviour formerly underwent his passion, according as he said and was truly informed by honourable people of the Holy Church, who knew and were well acquainted with that relique when the very reverend Father in God, the good Cardinal

de Perigord, kept it in his treasury, and caused it to be honoured as a relique of the cross of our Saviour; and so the said Henry Champagne had a firm faith and devout belief in that relique; and on his departure from this world, he ordered and charged his wife and executors, and his other chief friends, that that relique should be carried to the said city of Chester, that it might be placed in the county of that city: and he willed, for the love and honour which he bore to the said city, that it should be carried there and presented, and not placed elsewhere, and that the good people should have devotion for it, and remembrance of his soul. The which holy relique was, by the order of his wife and of his executors, and other his friends, transmitted and presented to the aforesaid city of Chester, by Nandon de Prey, a burghess and merchant of the said town of Libourne. And these things we certify to all, to be true without any doubt. It witness of the truth, and for the greater confirmation of the things abovesaid, we, the aforesaid John Gosvenor and Henry Van Emeric, to these present letters have put our own seals. Given at Fronssac, the 6th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1411."

[1412.—By the appointment of the mayor (Roger Potter), wheat was praised by two bakers and two citizens at 3s. 6d. the quarter; so that if four bushels went to the quarter, as at that time it is thought they had, that was but 10d. ob. our old bushel, that is about 3d. our new bushel.]

[1414.—Wheat sold at four shillings the quarter.]

[1437.—Wheat sold for seven shillings a bushel, being a very dear rate according to that time; so that the poor in Chester and elsewhere, made them bread of peasen, vetches and fern roots.]

[1441.—The gaolers of the castle and the Northgate fought together on the Roods Eye, whose names were Rookley and Roeley.]

By an inquisition taken in 1450, the city of Chester is represented as being then become so decayed and depopulated, by reason of the choaking of its harbour by sands, and the consequences of Glendwr's rebellion in Wales, that the citizens were unable to pay their rent to the crown, namely, 100*l.* fixed by Edward I. as the yearly sum required to be paid by the city, for their various freedoms and franchises. In the year 1455, the city was honoured with the presence of Margaret of Anjou, queen

of Henry VI. She came "upon progresse with manye great lordes and ladyes with her, and was graciously received by the mayor and citizens." In the year preceding the battle of Blore Heath, the queen again visited Chester, and won the hearts of the citizens by her royal courtesy and hospitality. After the battle, the two sons of the Earl of Salisbury, taken in the fight, and sent to be imprisoned in the castle of Chester, were released by an order from the king to Sir John Mainwaring—who delivered them to the lord Stanley, as his prisoners, together with Sir Thomas Harrington, Raufe Rokesby, Thomas Ashton, Robert Evereux, and others.

[1456.—The commonalty of the city arose, but were suppressed, and committed to the Northgate, and afterwards to the castle.]

[1459.—Sir John Done and Mr. Troutbeck, and many others, were slain at the battle of Bloreheath, taking part with the queen against the Earl of Salisbury.]

[1465.—Many citizens of Chester were slain at the Mohl fair, by Reginald Griffith and his retinue.]

The account of this last transaction is thus exemplified by Dr. Cowper:—"This year happened a bloody fray between Reginald ap Griffith ap Bleddyn (ancestor of the Wynnes of Tower) at the head of a great number of the Welsh, and many citizens of Chester. There was a dreadful slaughter on both sides, and Reginald having taken prisoner Robert Brynn, who had been Mayor of Chester three years before, carried him away to his fortress near Mold, and there hanged him in the large ground room within the tower. There are now (1756), in the hands of the owner of Rainault's Tower, several copies of verses composed by the Welsh bards, congratulating this is ancestor, on his several triumphs over the English, particularly for one signal victory, when he pursued his adversaries to the gates of Chester, and plundered and burned all Handbridge.* This Reinault bravely defended

* This story is told by Llwyd, in his translation from the British, in the following manner:—"This Reynault ap Griffith ap Bleddyn, was one of the brave defenders of Harlech Castle: he afterwards dwelt at the Tower, near Mold, but was always at variance with the citizens of Chester. A great number of them being at Mold fair, in 1465, a scuffle ensued, and much

Harlech castle, in Merionethshire, for Henry VI. which was the last fortress that held out for that unhappy prince. On this account Reinault was attainted by King Edward IV.

In 1470, the king was at Chester, as appears by his grant of the shrievalty of Cheshire to William Stanley of Hooton, quamdiu placuerit. Witness ourself at Chester, &c. &c.

[1475.—Edward, Prince of Wales, son to Henry VI. came to Chester before Christmas, and was immediately conveyed to the castle with great triumph.]

Referring to the last item, Mr. Ormerod says, this is palpably incorrect. Prince Edward, son to Henry VI. was murdered after the battle of Tewkesbury, in 1471. Prince Edward, son to Edward IV. must be intended.

[1484.—This year, regni regia Richard III. secundo, Sir John Savage, jun. and eight of his brethren, were made free of this city: their names, 1. Sir John Savage, 2. James, 3. Laurence, 4. Edward, 5. Christopher, 6. George, 7. William, 8. Richard, 9. Humphry.]

[1488.—This year was the composition made between the abbot and the parishioners of St. Oswald's, for their new church.]

[1489.—This year St. Peter's steeple was pointed, and by the parson and others a goose was eaten upon the top thereof, and part cast into the four streets.—Smith.]

[At the request of the Earl of Derby and George Lord Strange, there was granted unto Hugh Dutton, sword-bearer, his meat, drink, and a gown, and 13s. 4d. to be paid him yearly out of the treasury.]

[1491.—A great tempest on St. John's day in Christmas. A child of Tendon ap Thomas was slain by the fall of a principal from St. Peter's church, and a child of Ralph Davenport was sore hurt the same day. Simon Ripley, abbot of St. Werburg, died the 30th of August, and was buried at Warwick.]

slaughter, in which Reynault succeeded in taking Robert Byrne, Mayor of Chester in 1461, and hung him on the staple* still remaining in the hall of his house, at Tower. Two hundred "tall men," afterwards sallied from Chester to besiege Raynault's house, upon which, retiring to a wood, he permitted them in part to enter it, when rushing from his covert, he degraded himself, and sullied his former triumphs, by burning them in it, and pursued the remainer into the Dee, in which they perished. Lewis Glyn Cothi, a cotemporary of Raynault, celebrates his exploits, and uncharitably describes Chester, "as the habitation of the seven deadly sins."

* A very respectable gentleman of Chester assures me, that when on a professional visit to Tower, in the month of September in the present year (1839), he was shown the staple here alluded to, which still remains fastened to the ceiling of the great hall, or drawing-room, and was described to him as that from which the Mayor of Chester was suspended.

- [1493.—Mr. John Pulston, of Wrexham, Esquire, did strike one Patrick Killing, at the high altar, within the abbey of Chester, and almost slew him ; and so suspends the church, and the abbey was reconciled on St. Werburg's day, and the parish on St. Oswald's day.]
- [1494.—This year a great fire was in Northgate-street, on Midsummer-day. Sir Charles Stanley, of Holt, Knight, for uttering some speeches concerning Perkin Warbeck, was executed on Tower-hill, the 16th of February.]

The city was honoured with another royal visit on the 18th of July in this year,* when Henry VII. with his mother and the queen, came to Chester with a great retinue, from whence they proceeded to Hawarden ; the Earl of Derby, and a number of "Chester gallants" attending. This prince was greatly beloved by the Welsh, who were proud to claim him as a countryman ; and to them he had been under great obligations, for their fidelity during his concealment in that country, before he conquered the crown from the cruel Richard III.

[1496.—The steeple of White Friars new built, and also the chancel in St. Michael, in Chester.]

[1498.—It appeareth that the watch on Midsummer eve began this year ; also the north side of the Pentice was built. Prince Arthur came to Chester the 4th of August, and the Assumption of our Lady was played before the prince at the abbey gates. The 26th of August the prince made Mr. Goodman esquire, and the 9th of September he departed from Chester.]

[1500.—The further end of Dee bridge new built.]

[1503.—The pavement from the high cross to the Eastgate, and to St. Michael's cross was new laid.]

[1504.—This year the charter of the city was confirmed, Mr. Thomas Thornton being mayor.]

[1505.—This year Mr. Ralph Birkenhead was recorder, who was the first recorder that was in Chester, for any thing that is now known.]

[1506.—The old steeple of St. Werburg taken down.]

The summer of the year 1507 was memorable from an awful visitation of Providence upon the city, where that endemic disorder the *sweating sickness*, raged for a short time with great violence. It is recorded, that ninety-one householders were carried off in three days by this afflictive distemper ; but it is not unworthy of remark, that the destroying angel's respect for the female sex was

* Mr. Pennant places this royal visit in 1493, and Mr. Ormerod in 1495 ; while Webb and the *Magna Britan.* fix it in 1494.

eminently manifested, as out of this number, only four females fell victims to the mortal disease.

[1507.—A plentiful year of corn; an old bushel of wheat at 10d.—The foundation and the first stone of the (steeple of the) abbey laid, the mayor (Richard Wright, draper) being then present.—The new mace was bought the same year.]

[1515.—This year there was a fray at St. Werburgh's-lane end, between the citizens and the Welshmen, but there was little hurt done.]

About this period, and for more than a century afterwards, at short intervals, the sweating sickness and the plague, those dreadful scourges of the human race in the days of our ancestors, were more than usually destructive in this city. It has just been noticed under the date of 1507, that the sweating sickness proved fatal to a great number of the citizens; and in 1517, the city was again infected with the plague, probably to a more serious extent of mortality. I say probably, because, although we have no records of the precise number of victims who became a prey to its ravages, there are some ominous expressions used by two of our Chester annalists, Smith and Webb, which naturally lead to such an inference: the former observes, "that many died, and fled out of the city,* insomuch that the streets were full of grass;" and the latter, "that for want of trading, the grass did grow a foot high at the cross, and other streets in the city." Now that I am upon this calamitous topic, I shall, conformably to the plan I have before laid down, proceed to enumerate the various instances in which the city has been visited by the plague, without noticing the intervening historical events, to which, however, I shall afterwards recur. In the year 1550, the city suffered severely from the sweating sickness, which was prevalent also in various parts of the kingdom; and to this affliction was added, great scarcity of provisions; corn selling at Chester at sixteen shillings the bushel. From the year 1602 to 1605, with but very little intermission, the dreadful

* There is certainly a solecism in this description of our antiquary, that the *dead* should *flee* out of the city; but his meaning is nevertheless intelligible.

effects of the plague were experienced in the city. It is stated to have begun in the month of September, in the former year, at the house of one Glover, in St. John's-lane, in whose house alone seven persons died.* The contagion was particularly fatal in 1603 and 1604; six hundred and fifty persons died in the former year, and nine hundred and eighty-six in the latter; at one period about fifty-five persons died weekly. So great was the alarm against the spread of the contagion, that those affected by it were, from time to time, removed to the suburbs of the city, particularly to the open space between the Water Tower and the river, where cabins were erected for their reception; the expences attendant upon their care and support being paid by the city at large. Great numbers of people, especially those of the higher ranks, sought an exemption from the contagion by flight. It does not appear that any of the chief magistrates, during the continuance of the plague, abdicated their posts; but it is particularly noted of Edward Dutton, who was mayor while the calamity was at its height, that he conducted himself with extraordinary zeal and fortitude, in his endeavours to arrest its progress, and provide for the comforts of the unhappy victims; and although the contagion had reached his own house, and some of his children and servants were carried off by its ravages, he continued to exercise his arduous duties to the last. During this dreadful visitation, the fairs of the city were suspended; the court of Exchequer was removed to Tarvin, and the county assizes were held at Nantwich. The plague disappeared in the month of February, 1605. In 1608, some slight appearances of a like scourge were visible in the city; it began at the Talbot, and fourteen persons died of it. In 1647, the horrors of pestilence were superadded to the devastations occasioned by a protracted and

* Smith, in the Vale Royal, informs us of a strange phenomenon in the heavens, on the 22nd of August preceding the appearance of the plague, which he seems to regard as indicative of the calamity: he says, "in the night time, a wonderful exhalation of a fiery colour, likewise a canopy, were seen over this city."

destructive siege. Between the 22d of June in this year, and the 20th of April following, says Dr. Cowper, *two thousand and ninety-nine* persons died of the plague in the several parishes of Chester. Grass, adds he, grew at the High Cross, and in the most frequented parts of the city; and an ordinance was issued by the houses of parliament for nominating city officers, as the assembly of citizens could not be held without danger. Cabins for the infected were built under the Water Tower, and in the adjacent salt-marsh. Since the year 1647, the city has enjoyed an uninterrupted exemption from this horrible scourge. This is not perhaps the proper place minutely to enquire into the causes of the evil with which we have been so frequently visited, but there can be no doubt, the principal one has been the stagnant filthiness which was formerly suffered to remain in our narrow streets. Under date of the year 1636, when it seems accumulated filth was discovered to be inductive to diseases, it is recorded, that the mayor, William Edwards, "*caused many dung-hills to be carried away*, but the cost and time was on the poor." Again, under the same date, "*the maior caused the durt of many foule lanes in Chester to be carried to make a banke to enlarge the Roodey, and let ships in.*" And at a subsequent period, when the city was crowded with soldiers, and undergoing the extreme horrors of a siege, the necessity of a similar measure produced the following order:—"That the lord bishop be informed of the unwholesomeness of *the puddle near the Eastgate*, and the inhabitants be ordered to *cleanse the streets before their respective doors within ONE MONTH, under a fine of ten shillings!*" What an extraordinary effort of magisterial authority! To allow *one month* for the removal of a nuisance that endangered the health and lives of the citizens, under the onerous penalty of *ten shillings!*

Having concluded the history of our Chester pestilences, I shall revert to the series of historical events, as proposed.

It is recorded in Cowper's MSS. that in 1519, an order was made, that none go to priest's offerings, first mass, gospel ales, or Welsh weddings, within this city, under a penalty of ten shillings.

[1529.—The play of Robert Cecil was played at the High Cross, and the same was new gilt with gold.]

[1532.—There was a controversy between this mayor (William Goodman) and Mr. Massy of Puddington, then being searcher; for when Mr. Massy brought certain Spaniards for a murder done amongst them, the mayor staid them, which had like to have bred a great manslaughter.].

[1533.—The offering of ball and foot-balls was put down, and the silver-ball offered to the mayor on Shrove Tuesday.]

[1534.—The Duke of Richmond had the possession of the Holt delivered unto him by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, the Earl of Derby, and others.]

[1536.—Sir William Brereton, chamberlain of Chester, was put to death the 17th of May, for matters concerning Queen Anne.]

[1537.—Nunneries in Chester were suppressed, and other religious houses.—Dr. Wall began the building of the conduits at Boughton, for the bringing of the water to the Bridge-gate, in pipes of lead.]

In the year 1542, the mayor of the city, William Beswicke, laudably exerted his authority, by issuing an ordinance for the suppression of stews and brothel houses. It is no favourable indication of the morality of our Cestrian ancestors, that for several centuries before this period, these receptacles of immorality had not only been tolerated, but actually licensed by the police; and what, says the late Mr. Cowdroy in his small history, was not a little whimsical, the *impurity* of the *inside* of the house was distinguished by the *purity* of the *out*; as they were made conspicuous to the eye of the stranger by their being white-washed—thus at least shewing the *outward and visible sign*, though not of the *inward and spiritual grace*.* We are not hence to conclude, however, that the courtizans of those days stood high in the estimation of the community; on the contrary, several efforts were made

* At an earlier period, the constituted authorities of London had another, and a pretty effectual mode of distinguishing these unfortunate females. Stowe, in his Survey, informs us, that in 1352, Adam Francia, mayor, procured an act of parliament that no known *whore* should wear any hood, or attire on her head, except red, or striped cloth of divers colours.

by the magistracy to mark their infamous calling with disgrace. Thus in 1459, an order of assembly was made, "that no person *in the four principal streets* of the city should willingly receive into their houses, chambers, or cellars, nor set the same to any woman that openly mis-useth herself with any wedded man, or any other man of *order*, upon every of the twenty-four *aldermen* paying ten shillings, and every other, six shillings and eight-pence, to be levied by the sheriffs," &c. And still further to guard the morals and credit of the city on this point, an assembly of the corporation, in 1540, promulged the following order—an injunction which many of our Chester dames of the present day would very reluctantly submit to:—"Whereas *all* the taverns and alehouses of this city, be used to be kept by *young women* otherwise than is used in any other place of this realme, whereat all strangers greatly marvel and think it inconvenient, whereby great slander and dishonest report of this city hath and doth run abroad; in avoiding whereof, as also to eschew such great occasions of wantonness, brawls, frays, and other inconveniences as thereby doth and may arise among youth and light disposed persons, as also damages to their masters, owners of the taverns and alehouses: Ordered, that after the 9th of June next, there shall be no tavern or alehouse kept in the said city by any woman between *fourteen* and *forty* years of age, under pain of forty pounds forfeiture for him or her that keepeth any such servant."

[1545.—The common-hall that now is within the city of Chester, was built and made of St. Nicholas's chapel, towards the building thereof, Mr. John Walley, then mayor and master of the company of iron-mongers, gave freely of a common bargain of fifty-two tons of iron lately discharged within the said city by a special merchant, three tons of the same iron, which was then worth twenty-four pounds sterling.]

[1549.—This year there was a skirmish between the citizens of Chester, and five hundred Irish kernes; and divers of the Irishmen were hurt, and the rest driven back, and but one citizen hurt.]

[1551.—On the 16th of Jan. in the night, there arose a mighty great wind, and the flood came to such a height, that it drowned many cattle upon Saltney, and one Foulk Duckworck and six children were drowned at his house in Hope's-place.]

In noticing this occurrence, Dr. Cowper adds, that the flood rose so high at Chester, that many timber trees were left by the ebb, on the top of Dee bridge.

[1554.—This year George Marsh was burned at Spital Boughton, within the liberties of this city, for the profession of the gospel, who did constantly endure his martyrdom with such patience as was wonderful.]

In addition to the above notice on this subject, Dr. Cowper adds, that after the exhibition of a conditional pardon, by the vice-chancellor, Mr. Vawdrey, and the refusal of it by Marsh on the terms of recantation, the people pressed forward to attempt a rescue, headed by Sheriff Cowper, who was much afflicted with the martyr's sufferings. Mr. Cowper was, however, beat off by the other sheriff, and effecting his escape, fled over Holt bridge, into Wales, was soon after outlawed, and had his estates seized on by the government. After this, he remained quietly in Carnarvonshire, until the death of Queen Mary. The ashes of Marsh were privately interred in the burial ground of the chapel of St. Giles, in Spital Boughton.

[1556.—This year a bushel of wheat sold at sixteen shillings; rye at fourteen shillings; barley at twelve shillings; whereupon a contention grew between the mayor, John Webster, and the bakers for the assize of bread. And whereas there were always four old bushels allowed them to the quarter, he would allow them but three, which indeed was the full quarter by the statute, and somewhat more; but after long suits, the bakers acknowledged their fault, and were remitted, and their fines pardoned. Wherein as he shewed himself a careful magistrate, even so in other things he governed very wisely, to his great commendation of all men in general.]

[1557.—This year the house in the corn market was built.]

The year 1558 is remarkable for a curious incident which occurred in the city, and which is related by Archbishop Usher, and Mr. Ware, and quoted by Ormerod, Hanshall, and others. Dr. Henry Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, it seems, was charged by Queen Mary with a commission to the council of Ireland, which had for its object the persecution of the Irish protestants. The doctor stopped one night here on his way to Dublin, and put up at the *Blue Posts*, the house now occupied by Mr. Brittain, on the east side of Bridge-street, then kept by a

Mrs. Mottershed. In this house he was visited by the mayor, to whom, in the course of conversation, he related his errand, in confirmation of which he took from his cloak bag a leather box, exclaiming in a tone of exultation, "Here is what will lash the heretics of Ireland!" This annunciation was caught by the landlady, who had a brother in Dublin; and while the commissioner was escorting his worship down stairs, the good woman, prompted by an affectionate regard for the safety of her brother, opened the box, took out the commission, and placed in lieu of it a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs uppermost. This the doctor carefully packed up, without suspecting the transformation; nor was the deception discovered till his arrival in the presence of the lord deputy and privy council at the castle of Dublin. The surprise of the whole assembly, on opening the box containing the supposed commission, may be more easily imagined than described. The doctor, in short, was immediately sent back for a more satisfactory authority, but before he could return to Ireland, Queen Mary had breathed her last. It is added, that the ingenuity and affectionate zeal of the landlady were rewarded by Elizabeth with a pension of forty pounds a year.

[1562.—A dear year; a bushel of wheat at seventeen shillings, and rye at fifteen shillings.]

[1563.—Upon the Sunday after Midsummer-day, the history of Eneas and Queen Dido was played in the Roods-eye, and were set out by one William Croston, gent. and one Mr. Mann; on which triumph there were made two forts, and shipping on the water, besides many horsemen well armed and appointed.]

[1564.—This year there was a great frost, and Dee was frozen over, so that people played at foot-ball thereon.]

[1565.—There was a great fire without Northgate, and thirty-three dwelling-houses burnt, besides other back-houses and barns, which happened the 29th of August.]

[1566.—This year there was a great fire in Handbridge, which burnt two dwelling-houses, and a barn with corn; one cow was also burnt to death, and four oxen were so smothered, that there was much to do to save their lives.]

[1568.—This year the Northgate-street, the White Friars-lane, the Parson's-lane, and the Castle-lane were paved.]

1569.—A great part of the new quay was built this year.—This year the sheriffs did fight one with the other, and were therefore fined in £10. towards

repairing of a piece of the walls that was fallen down between the New Tower and the Watergate.]

[1571.—This year Whitsun plays were played, and an inhibition was sent from the archbishop to stay them, but it came too late.]

In Sir Peter Leicester's MSS. it is recorded, that in 1573, the city was violently disturbed by an affray between the retainers of Sir George Calveley, of Lea, and those of his brother-in-law, John Dutton, of Dutton, Esq. during the assizes. The occasion of this conflict is not stated; but the common bell was rung, and the skirmish lasted until many were wounded, and Mr. Tilston, the steward of Dutton, lost his life in the quarrel.

[1573.—This year the controversy between the city and the vice-chamberlain was fully set abroad. For Mr. William Glaseor, Mr. William Aldersey, alderman, and John Aldersey, his son, were disfranchised, and put from their alderman's rooms. And on the 22d of February, the mayor was served by a pursuivant with the council's letters, to appear before them with all speed; where, at his coming, there were twenty-three articles of information laid against him by Mr. Glaseor, vice-chamberlain, which the mayor did answer. After long debating of the matter, it was agreed, that the exchequer should be the chancery-court, as well for the city as the whole county-palatine, and articles set down how far the said exchequer should deal with the mayor and citizens, and wherein they should obey that court. Also, that if William Glaseor, William Aldersey, and John Aldersey, did come and desire to be restored to their former liberties, that then the mayor should restore them. Divers other things were recorded, too long here to rehearse; as the confirmation of the charter, and the taking out of this word, *Pretorial*, by which the citizens were exempted from the exchequer. The 19th of April, Mr. Mayor came from London, and the 26th of the same month, being Monday, in the common-hall, at a portmote, in the presence of the whole citizens, and the bishop, who was also appointed by the council for the same purpose, all the orders were openly read between the city and the exchequer. Wherein, amongst other things, the mayor is not now to appear in the exchequer for every light matter, except for some great cause: also, one freeman of the city not to sue another there; except it be for want of justice before the mayor, &c. With divers others, as appeareth in record in the city. The same day Mr. William and John Aldersey came to the common-hall, before the mayor and all the citizens, and desired to have their former liberties; upon whose request they were restored, the first to his aldermanship, and his son a merchant, as he was before. Also, Mr. Glaseor, vice-chamberlain, at his coming from London, was restored at his request, according to the council's order. The 12th of May (1574) Mr. Mayor took his journey towards London, and on the 22d of June came back again, with the charter of the city new confirmed, with some additions.—This year the Pentice was enlarged, and the sheriff's court removed to the

common-hall.—This year two quarters of St. John's steeple did fall down, from the top to the bottom, and in the fall brake down a great part of the west end of the church.—This year the corn market house, that was made when Mr. Webster was mayor, was removed to the other side of the street, under the bishop's house; for which cause the dean and chapter have begun their suit in the exchequer, claiming the ground whereon the house standeth to be theirs,—*Smith.*]

[1575.—This year Sir John Savage (mayor) caused the popish plays of Chester to be played the Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday after Midsummer-day, in contempt of an inhibition, and the primate's letters from York, and from the Earl of Huntington; for which cause he was served by a pursuivant from York, the same day that the new mayor was elected, as they came out of the common-hall; notwithstanding the said Sir John Savage took his journey towards London, but how his matter sped is not known. Also Mr. Hankey was served by the same pursuivant for the like contempt when he was mayor. Divers others of the citizens and players were troubled for the same matter.—*Smith.*—This year there was a collection made in the city, and of some worshipful in the county, for a stock to set the poor on work, and a house of correction built under the city-wall, near unto the Northgate, which house was removed out of the corn-market, and was first placed there by Mr. Webster, for the batchers of the city.—*Webb.*—Henry Hardware (mayor) caused the corn market house, which Mr. Dutton had built near the bishop's palace, to be removed into the Northgate-ditch, and purchased the quarrel (quarry) for the use of the city; augmenting the said house with buildings, and ordained it for poor folks to work in; whereupon the contention ceased, which the dean and chapter had begun. Also, the said Henry Hardware caused the new house in the corn-market to be builded, and the draw-well underneath the same. Also he hath set out 200 marks, which was delivered to the city by the executors of Randal Worsley to four men of the city upon sureties.—*Smith.*]

Up to this period, it appears, that the supplies of the city with the common necessities of subsistence had been restricted to resident freemen; a monopoly which was felt to be both inconvenient and expensive. But in 1577, during the mayoralty of Mr. Thomas Bellin, an ordinance was issued by the authorities, giving permission to the *country butchers* to sell flesh in the city on market days (Wednesday and Saturday), alleging as the reason, "The excess of price used by the city butchers, and want of provision which they ought to have made for the better supply of the cities wants." This regulation seems to have answered the end for which it was intended; for in the following year, the *country bakers* received a similar

permission, which, with regard to both classes, has been uninterruptedly continued to the present day.

[1577.—The shepherd's play was played at the High Cross, and other triumphs at the Rood-eye.—Handbridge paved.]

[1578.—Many soldiers being in Chester, two of the captains did strive whether should bring their company first from the Rood-eye, which had like to have bred much hurt between them; but the mayor did commit them both to the Northgate, until he had heard from the privy council, and then both the captains were discharged, and others put in their places, and martial law was used in the city.]

[1579.—The Watergate-street was paved from the High Cross to Trinity Church.]

[1580.—This year eighteen yards of the spire of St. Peter's steeple was new built.]

[1581.—The parishioners of St. John's, having obtained the said church of the queen, began to build some part of it again, and cut off all the chapels above the choir.—The 3d of September, Sir Lawrence Smith, knight, who had been four times mayor of the city, was buried at St. Bride's church; the funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Goodman, standing in the window of the high house, next adjoining to the church, because the church was so little, and the company so great.]

[1582.—The old shire-hall was obtained in Mr. Bird's time, to make a shambles for the country butchers, and was placed in the corn-market in Mr. Bevand's time, and was this year supplied with country butchers.—This year the alteration of the conduit began for the bringing of the water to the High Cross, which was done by an ingenious workman, whereas before it came on its own accord but unto Mr. Brerewood's house, near unto Chapel-gate, towards which work, there was not only a collection made in the city, but also the Offleys gave much money towards the same; likewise Mr. Thomas Aldersey gave £10, and Mr. Withers of London gave £10, who was born in this city.—The further part of Cow-lane new paved, and also Clayton-lane.]

[1583.—Nicholas Massy was chosen sheriff in Sheriff Mutton's place, who died the 18th of February, being a godly zealous man, who not long before his death pulled down certain crosses, by a commission from the archbishop's visitors; one at the Bars, another at the Northgate, and another on this side Spittle Boughton, which so offended the papists, that they ascribed it to the cause of his death.—Robert, Earl of Leicester, chamberlain of this county palatine, came to Chester the third of June, accompanied with the honourable Earls of Derby and Essex, and the Lord North, and also met and attended by most of the gentlemen in this shire, with their whole train, and as it was thought they were in the whole 1500 horse; they were received at the High Cross by the mayor and his brethren, and the whole council of the city. They lodged at the bishop's palace, dined by the mayor the 4th of June, and presented with a cup, and forty angels* therein.]

* An angel, in the computation of English money, was ten shillings.

- [1584.—The 24th of July, being St. James's day, there was such a store of thunder, lightning, hail, and rain, from noon till midnight, that the waters did rise of a sudden, and overflowed the streets into the cellars, so that hogheads of wine did swim, and much wares were hurt, besides great harms to the mills, much hay and corn destroyed, and many glass windows broken with the hail, being five inches in compass; many men and cattle were slain by the light bolt in divers places, so that the like was never heard of in the memory of man.—The one hundred pound, being the gift of Sir Thomas White, came to Chester this year, and was accordingly put forth to four persons, viz. Adam Johnson, Richard Goose, Jeffry Smith, and William Rogerson.—Eastgate-street new paved, and the channel laid in the middle, whereas before it lay on both sides.]
- [1585.—Upon St. Andrew's day, the Castle bridge fell down, and killed two horses and other cattle going over the same with a load of coals.—Sixteen pirates were committed to the castle and the Northgate, for taking a ship out of Wkral, and killing one man in the same ship, but the wind crossed them, brought them back, so that they were forced to leave the ship, and in flying away they were taken.—Salisbury, who conspired with Babbington to kill the queen (Elizabeth), was apprehended at Frodsham, by Mr. Jo. Poole, the 13th of August, who fled into the forest, and was taken the day following, being Sunday, and shortly after was brought to London, and there executed with others of his faction.]
- [1586.—There was hue and cry made throughout England, that London, Chester, and Bristol were on fire, and that the Spaniards were landed at the new quay.—The sixth of May, wheat sold for 24s. the old bushel; rye for 18s., and barley for 14s.—The second of September, an old bushel of wheat at 8s.; rye at 6s.; and barley at 4s.—Ferdinando Lord Strange was made alderman, who received the same very honourably, and made a rich banquet in the Pentice.]
- [1587.—A man was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for clipping of money, and his quarters set on the four gates.]
- [1588.—The 8th of September a woman was burned at Boughton, for poisoning her husband.]
- [1589.—John Taylor, keeper of the castle, killed one Mr. Hockenhall, who was then a prisoner in the same place for recusancy; and the said John Taylor was hanged for the same fact.]
- [1590.—This mayor (William Massey) set down an order by an assembly, that when any man came to be made a freeman of the city, he should bring with him furniture for his body, and should swear that they were his own.—The gate near unto the office door in the Abbey-court was begun the 26th of April, and finished the 19th of May following.]
- [1592.—William Geaton, servant to the Lord Bishop of Chester, was arraigned at the assizes, holden at the castle the 27th of April, for the murdering of Ja. Findlorve, a seller of Scottish cloth, for which fact the said Geaton was condemned, and hanged in chains upon Grapnel Heath, near the place where the deed was done.]
- [1598.—One Heaketh was sent from the King of Spain, Dr. Allen, and other fugitives beyond the sea, to Ferdinando, Earl of Derby, offering to crown him King of England, if he would consent thereunto; but the said earl brought the said Heaketh to the queen and council, and disclosed

the plot, whereupon the said Hesketh was arraigned, found guilty, and hanged.—This mayor, David Lloyd, did ride the circuit of the city.]

[1594.—There came unto Chester at several times 2200 footmen and 1000 horsemen to go into Ireland, for the suppression of the rebellion of the Earl of Tyrone; the mayor had much ado to keep the soldiers quiet; and caused a gibbet to be set up at the High Cross, whereon three soldiers had like to have been hanged.]

[1595.—There came unto Chester at several times 2400 footmen, and 300 horsemen to go to Ireland. The clergy set forth the horsemen, whereof 152 were sent for Ireland; the rest were sent back again, because they were not sufficient.—All kinds of victuals were very dear, and wheat at 24s. the old bushel.—Orders in this city that ale and beer should be retailed the London quart for a penny.]

[1596.—Corn was very dear; an old bushel of wheat at 40s.; rye at 36s.; and barley 31s.]

[1597.—The 25th of February, being Saturday, the sun being totally eclipsed, it was so dark for the time, that the like was never seen in the memory of man.]

[—The Earl of Essex, lieutenant-general for the wars in Ireland, came unto Chester, and with him three other earls, besides many other lords, knights and gentlemen, who were honourably received by the mayor and his brethren, and after a banquet prepared for them in the Pentice, there was given unto the Earl of Essex a fair standing cup, double gilt, and in the same forty angels of gold.]

[1599.—The 27th of January the river Dee was frozen over, and certain of the citizens went to walk thereon, not remembering to keep holy the sabbath-day, so that amongst divers that hardly escaped, three young men fell through the ice, and were drowned.—The 14th of February, the lord Mountjoy, deputy of Ireland, and with him a great train, who dined with the mayor the 17th of February, and departed towards Wales the 19th of February, to take shipping for Ireland.—This mayor, (Henry Hardware), for his time altered many ancient customs, as the shooting for the sheriffs' breakfast; the going of the giants at Midsummer, &c. and would not suffer any plays, bear-baits, or bull-baits. Also, he endeavoured to make apprentices free, according to the statute.—The long west roof of the minster was covered with lead, and much of the timber work was repaired.]

[1600.—Mr. Robert Brerewood, mayor, caused the bakers to bake farthing cakes, wheat being at 12s. the old bushel.—The flagging of the long west aisle in the minster, was this year begun by Dean Miller.—The new waterworks at the bridge, for the conveying of water from thence to many dwelling-houses in the city, was begun this year by John Tyrer.]

[1601.—The 5th of February, a great part of the causeway at Dee Mills broke down, so that no water came near the mills until the same breach was stopped, which was in May following.—At Michaelmas fair, one Arnet, servant to Mr. Mankey, of Saltney side, cruelly murdered one of his fellows near unto his master's house, first by cutting his throat with a knife, and afterwards, missing his windpipe, he ripped up his belly with the same knife, so that his bowels fell out, and leaving him for dead, went home without taking any money from him, as he first intend-

ed; notwithstanding, the dying man came home, and lapping his bowels in his shirt, he lived until he had made known who killed him. And the same murderer was hanged in chains the year following, near unto the place where the deed was done.—One Condey's wife conspired with one Boon, to poison her husband, for which they were both arraigned: Boon was pressed to death, and she was hanged after her delivery, being great with child at her trial.]

[1602.—The Earl of Tyrone, who for a long time maintained wars against England, did this year come in and prostrate himself before the Lord Mountjoy, then deputy of Ireland: And in the presence of all the states of Ireland, in the castle of Dublin, humbly desiring his pardon from the queen, and was brought through Chester.]

[1604.—This mayor (Edward Dutton), in his time went up to London, and there renewed the charter of the city.]

[1606.—In the month of January, the sword being carried before the mayor through the minster church, it was put down by one of the prebends, which was the cause of some controversy, but the same was presently appeased by the bishop.—A stranger did dance and vault upon a rope, which was fastened a great height above the ground, overthwart the street at the High Cross, which did seem strange to the beholders. This year there was a great frost, which continued from Michaelmas to the midst of February.—This year Sir Richard Trevor and divers others wrought great means to have the causeway taken down at Dee Bridge, alleging, that the river should be scoured, that the shipping might better come into the city, and the meadowing upon the river side would be free from overflowing. But the same was withstood by Mr. Thomas Gamul, recorder of the city. And after the several juries had given up their verdicts unto the commissioners to that end appointed, the lords of his Majesty's most honourable privy council took the hearing of the cause, and they referred the same to be ordered by four judges of the land, who decreed that the causeway should remain.]

[1608.—A great part of the walls between the Watergate and the new Tower were repaired, and the Newgate repaired and made larger.—Hay at the beginning of hay-harvest was at 30s. a load, and at 26s. 8d. and in the end it came to 20s. and to 16s.]

[1609.—The walls that were repaired the last year, fell down this year in the month of November.—The bell and bowl which are run for on St. George's day, by horses were provided by Mr. Robert Amery, sometime sheriff of this city, who the same day in this year brought them down to the Rood-eye, with great triumph.]

[1611.—This mayor, being persuaded, that the sabbath-day should be truly performed and kept, he caused the reapers to be removed that came every Sunday to the High Cross in the harvest time to be hired for the week following.]

[1612.—The jacks were set up at St. Peter's church, and the quarters were made to strike upon the clock, at the cost of Mr. Robert Amery, who died the 21st of September following. This mayor did very strictly take care, that all the statutes and orders within the city should be kept accordingly, and caused all that sold ale or beer for two-pence the quart, to pay the full forfeiture of their recognizances; he appointed every man

to bring in their quarts, and break in pieces all that were not full measure; he viewed the weights and measures of all the tradesmen within the city, reforming those that were amiss, and causing many new bushels to be cut less; he sized the wines muscadine at 7d the quart, sack at 10d. and other wines at 6d.—Mr. Thomas Gamul the recorder died, whose funeral was performed by a great multitude of people; the bishop then preached the funeral sermon, and for him a costly monument was erected in St. Mary's church, where he lyeth buried in a large vault made of purpose under the ground.]

[1613.—The mayor (William Aldersey) finding the brazen measure which was long used in Chester, to be too little, he caused the same to be new cast according to a just measure, and all the new bushels were enlarged by the same measure.]

[1615.—The 17th of September at the night tide, there arose a very great flood, which drowned many cattle on Saltney, to the loss of many poor people in Handbridge.]

[1617.—On the 23d of August our city was graced with the royal presence of our sovereign King James, who being attended with many honourable earls, reverend bishops, and worthy knights and courtiers, besides all the gentry of the shire, rode in state through the city, being met with the sheriffs, peers, and common-council of the city, every one with his foot-cloth, well mounted on horseback. All the train soldiers of the city, standing in order without the Eastgate, and every company with their ensigns in seemly sort, did keep their several stations on both sides of the Eastgate-street. The mayor and all the aldermen took their places on a scaffold, railed and hung about with green; and there, in most grave and seemly manner, they attended the coming of his Majesty. At which time, after a learned speech delivered by the recorder, the mayor presented to the king a fair standing cup, with a cover, double gilt, and therein an hundred jacobins of gold; and likewise the mayor delivered the city's sword to the king, who gave it to the mayor again. And the same was borne before the king by the mayor, being on horseback. The sword of state was borne by the Right Hon. William, Earl of Derby, chief chamberlain of the county palatine of Chester. The king rode first to the minster, where he alighted from his horse, and in the west aisle of the minster he heard an oration delivered in Latin by a scholar of the free school: after the said oration, he went into the choir. And there in a seat made for the king, in the higher end of the choir, he heard an anthem sung. After certain prayers, the king went from thence to the Pentice, where a sumptuous banquet was prepared at the city's cost, which being ended, the king departed to the Vale Royal. And at his departure, the order of knighthood was offered to Mr. Mayor, but he refused the same.]

This is the last incident of importance recorded by the annalists in King's Vale Royal; although the chronological list of mayors, sheriffs, &c. has been brought down in that work to the year 1655.

From the Chester annals, in the Harl. MSS. we learn, that on the xviiiith day of September, 1630, "came to Chester, being Saturday, the duchess of Tremoye in France, and mother-in-law to the Lord Strange, and many other great estates, and all the gentry of Cheshier, Flintshier, and Denbighshier, went to meet her at Hoole Heath, with the Earl of Derby, being at least six hundred horse; all the gentle men of the artelery yard latly erected in Chester, met her in Cow-lane in very statly manner, all with greate white and blew fithers, and went before her chariot in march to the bishops pallas, and making a yard, let her thro' the midst, and there gave her three volleys of shot, and so returned to their yard; also the maior and aldermen in their best gownes and aparel, were on a stage in the Estgate-street, to entertayn her. And the next day she came to the Pentise after the sermon in the afternoone to a banquet, being invited by the maior, and the next day went to Whitchurch; but it was reported that so many knights, esquires, and gentlemen never were in Chester together, no, not to meet King James when he came to Chester."

In the year 1636, the celebrated William Prynne, who by his hostility to the hierarchy and the measures of government, had incurred the hatred of the court, and become popular through the country by the severe persecution of the star-chamber, was conveyed through Chester, on his way to Carnarvon, to be imprisoned in the castle there. On his approach to the city, he was met by numbers who had imbibed like sentiments with himself, and who testified towards him the most unmeasured sympathy and approbation. This conduct was narrowly watched, and eagerly represented by the emissaries of the court, and some were fined 500*l.* some 300*l.* and others 250*l.* Mr. Peter Ince, a stationer, and one of the offenders, made a public recantation before the bishop in the cathedral, as did Calvin Bruen, of Stapleford, in the town-hall. Two of the others, Mr. Peter Lee, and Mr. Richard Golborne, suffered their bonds of 300*l.* each to be estreated into the exchequer, rather than perform the

conditions. In the following year, four portraits of Prynne, painted in Chester, were burnt at the High Cross in the presence of the magistracy. The feverish disposition of the country now threatened some great political convulsion, and in this year (1636), king Charles appointed the mayor of Chester (William Edwards), the Earls of Derby and Rivers, and Viscount Cholmondeley, his commissioners of array for the county of the city.

Although the preceding series of historical events furnishes nothing like distinct dissertations on the manners of the inhabitants, the state of the arts and sciences, or the condition of society, within the city, in the various periods through which it passes, yet it develops incidents of a nature not less curious than interesting. Independent of all reasoning, the common feelings of mankind agree in this, to attach a higher importance to occurrences that happen at home, than to those of an equal, or even superior interest in themselves, which take place at a distance. As historical facts, we read, not without instruction and amusement, the transactions of our early national monarchs and legislatures; but when a native of Cestria peruses the page that discloses to his view old *Lupus*, and his immediate successors, surrounded by their barons, abbots, and knights, sitting in counsel, and promulgating laws for the government of ancestors who inhabited the same sod, and from whose loins he is himself probably descended, he is intuitively more strongly affected with the narrative, and especially when he associates with his reading, the idea that he knows the precise situation, and has perhaps trod on the same spot where this ancient assembly held its consultations. The like observation is applicable to times less remote, and to a variety of other objects in which locality is concerned. It is the same principle, in a more enlarged sense, that gives to an Englishman his peculiar regards and attach-

ments to England, in preference to all the nations of the earth.

But, admitting that the isolated facts above narrated, separately considered, throw but little light upon the state of society in the city, they afford, when viewed as a consecutive series, correct data from which a tolerable judgment may be formed. It is clear, that from the thirteenth century, Chester has always been considered a place of considerable importance by the English monarchs; its relative situation, as it regards Wales and Ireland, and its complete fortifications, have given it a peculiar claim to estimation; nor has it ever been deficient in manifesting a zealous attachment to the sovereign, or the monarchical principle. There are few places at such a distance from the metropolis, that has so frequently been honoured with the presence of royalty, or received so many marks of kingly favour.

To the frequent resort hither of kings and princes, with their numerous retinues, must also be added the oft-repeated visits of the governors of Ireland, on their way to and from that country, mostly accompanied by a train of other noblemen and gentry, and sometimes by large bodies of troops; which, whatever honour they reflected upon the city, necessarily entailed a great expense upon the chief magistrate himself, or the body corporate. Upon these occasions, sumptuous entertainments were provided for the illustrious strangers, and in some instances, sums of money were added to their hospitality. This seems to have been considered by our former local governors, a necessary part of their municipal duty, to uphold the dignity of their office, and the credit of the city. It is also observable, that our ancient mayors have been rigidly scrupulous in maintaining the corporate privileges, having, at different times, sustained successful contests against the supposed encroachments of the crown, the church, and civil officers, who attempted to invade their prerogative. In former times, too, the authority of the chief magistrate and the worshipful body, was not restricted to those matters only with which they are now conversant, but was

exercised in various other instances, not only respecting the morals and decorous behaviour of the inhabitants in general, but in directing the private conduct, and regulating the behaviour of families and individuals. In addition to the facts already given in elucidation of this position, we add the three following *mandates*, all issued by the assembly of the corporation, during the reign of Henry VIII. and in the mayoralty of Henry Gee.

“For avoiding of idleness; all children of six years old and upwards, shall on week days be set to school, or some virtuous labour, whereby they may hereafter get an honest living, and on Sundays and holydays, they shall resort to their parish churches, and there abide during the time of divine service, and in the afternoon, all the said male children, *shall be exercised in shooting with bows and arrows, for pins and points only*, and that their parents furnish them with bows and arrows, pins and points, for that purpose, according to the statute lately made for maintenance of shooting in long bows and artillery, being the ancient defence of the kingdom.”

“Whereas great expence and superfluous charge hath been and doth grow by reason of costly dish-meals and drinks, brought unto women lying in child-bed, and by them likewise to the other recompensed at their churchings, whereby such as are of mean substance strain themselves to more charge than they can well sustain; ordered, that henceforth no such dish-meals, nor wines be brought to women in child-bed, or at churchings; and that no women (except the midwife, mother, sisters, and sisters-in-law of the women churched) shall go into the house of her that is churched, but bring her to the door and so depart, on pain of 6s. 8d. upon the owner of the house, and 3s. 4d. upon every person offending *toties quoties*.”

“To distinguish the head dresses of married women from unmarried; no unmarried woman to wear white or other coloured caps; and no woman to wear any hat when she rides or goes abroad into the country (except sick or aged persons) on pain of 3s. 4d.”

By men living in those days, when the will of the monarch was the law that governed the land, and when subordinate power approximated itself to the supreme, in all things cognizable to its authority, these mandatory proclamations seem to have been acquiesced in without regret or difficulty. But times are changed, and the change is infinitely to our advantage. The principles of civil and religious liberty are now claimed by every plebian, and recognised by every English monarch; and we should now treat ordinances that affected to regulate our public or private concerns, with disregard or contempt. It is proper, however, to remark, that our censures ought

not be directed against the individuals who then issued or enforced them; they acted only in accordance with what the laws appointed or tolerated.

It is very probable, from the preceding accounts, that most parts of the city, except the four principal streets, remained unpaved until the beginning of the sixteenth century; some of them certainly did not receive that necessary addition to convenience until the year 1577; and we have already seen, that the plague and pestilence are referable to the filthy condition of the streets and lanes. Although we are tenacious to rank our city high in the scale of respectability and grandeur, yet we can boast but little advancement in the arts of elegance or convenience, especially as regards our habitations or outward appearance of the place, until the commencement of the seventeenth century. One of our old historians, who wrote about 1620, in describing the state of our county and city, has the following observation:—
 “In building and furniture of their houses, till of late years, they used the old manners of the Saxons. For they had their fire in the midst of the house, against a *hob of clay*, and their oxen *under the same roof*; but within these forty years, it is altogether altered; so that they have builded chimnies, and furnished other parts of their houses accordingly.” The improvements in these and other particulars will be recited hereafter.

In concluding these remarks on the before-mentioned chronology, I cannot but observe, that our Cestrian ancestors appear to have been as strongly imbued as any of their neighbours, with the spirit of superstition, or impiety, or both. Of this the annual performance of the *Whitsun plays*, of which an account will be given, is alone a sufficient evidence. These had their origin when popery was predominant in the kingdom, but they did not terminate until some time after the reformation; and what is no way creditable to the morality of the times, *Sunday* was selected as one of the days for the exhibition of these profane performances. As another instance of the little regard that was paid to the sacred doctrines

taught by the reformed religion, even by the constituted authorities, it may be mentioned, that in the time of Queen Elizabeth, there was a custom (then called an ancient one) for the aldermen and justices, sheriffs and leave-lookers, to meet every *Sunday* in the inner Pentice, to have a *shot*, or drinking, and every man to pay a penny. In 1657, the mayor sat every *Sunday*, Wednesday, and Friday, for the administration of justice.

In contrasting the times we have been reviewing, with the present, we have abundant reason to rejoice in the alteration of circumstances. If we have but few royal visits to boast of, we have but little expenditure out of the public stock to complain of. Our liberties can no longer be invaded by the ambition or caprice of a supreme or subordinate magistrate, but are secured by fixed and determinate laws, to the observance of which the former are equally bound with ourselves. Our streets and lanes no more obstruct or inconvenience the busy passenger, nor accumulated heaps of stagnant filth endanger our health or lives. Nor are our families incommoded with the stench of a smoking crib, whose annoyance is equal to the comfort derived from a blazing fire; decency, order, and comfort mark our dwellings, and all the necessities and elegancies of civilized life abound. And last, though not least, the magistracy no longer either sanction or tolerate the violation of the Christian sabbath, by the public buffoneries of folly in others, nor allow of open profanity in themselves. It is true, our city, like all other populous places, exhibits immorality in all its various deformities; but it is neither countenanced nor sanctioned by the community at large. When profligacy of manners is manifested or encouraged by the higher orders of society, or public bodies in authority, we may naturally expect the contagion to descend through every grade and avenue of the subordinate classes; but when the former in their lives and conduct maintain a respect for religion, their example has a powerful influence, if not in suppressing altogether, at least in rendering impiety disgraceful, and discountenancing its votaries.

The Siege of Chester.

For many generations our noble castle and lofty walls had preserved the reputation of an impregnable fortress, but, until the period upon which we are now entering, their capability of defence had never been proved. The time of that trial, however, arrived in the year 1643, and it was then quite soon enough for the citizens, great numbers of whom, as well as of others, were doomed to experience a long protracted misery, or death by the sword, or by famine.

The pernicious councils pursued by the infatuated Charles, and the obstinacy with which he persevered in them, produced first, a most marked dissatisfaction in the parliament, and ultimately, a total alienation of their affection and allegiance. It forms no part of my business to enter into the merits of the respective parties, who at this period divided the whole kingdom between them. It is enough for my purpose to remark, that the city of Chester was intimately and fatally involved in the calamity of the great rebellion that followed. From what has already been seen of the general character of this city, sufficient is apparent to justify a presumption, that the inhabitants were predisposed to array themselves on the side of royalty,—more perhaps from the influence of those high principles of church and king, in which they had been nurtured, than from any persuasion of the soundness of Charles's cause. In fact, the general feeling of the city, and especially of the leading men, was from the beginning directed against the parliament.

On the 8th of August, 1642, the first symptom of civil strife was manifested in Chester. A number of the disaffected, of whom there was a sprinkling in the city,

with Sir William Brereton as the leader, caused a drum to be beat publicly in the streets, inviting and exhorting the people to enlist themselves on the side of the parliament, and some few accordingly resorted to their standard. Information of this popular tumult being given to the mayor, Mr. Thomas Cooper, this intrepid magistrate immediately directed some constables to apprehend the leaders of the tumult, but the latter forcibly resisted, and compelled the constables to retire; upon which the mayor stepped forward in person to expostulate with them on their conduct, and upon being disrespectfully treated, he boldly advanced up to one of the parliamentarians, and seizing him by the collar, delivered him to the civil officers; at the same time wresting a broad sword from another of the party, with which he instantly cut the drum to pieces, securing the drummer, and several others. This firm and manly demeanor, on the part of the mayor, effectually put an end to the tumult, and finally repressed it. During this affray, the common bell was rung, the citizens lent their cheerful aid to the chief magistrate, and when they had seen him in a state of personal security, the city was restored to peace. Sir William Brereton, a gentleman of competent fortune in the county, and knight for the shire, and who was a strong partizan for the parliament, was brought before the magistrates at the Pentice, to answer for the part he had taken in the above disturbance, though he owed his rescue from the popular fury to the personal interference of the mayor; he was however discharged. It appears from the law documents in the Harl. Collection, that there were personal animosities between Sir William and the city, arising from the assessment of his estate (the Nunnery lands, supposed to be rate-free) for the contribution of ship-money. His subsequent severities are stated to have proceeded from his resentment on this occasion, and it has been a subject of regret by many of his political opponents, that the active interposition of the mayor, had rescued from the popular fury a man who afterwards proved to be so severe a scourge to the city.

This ebullition of party enthusiasm created an alarm amongst the loyalists, and measures of defence were instantly adopted by the constituted authorities, which shall be hereafter detailed.

On the 25th of August, 1642, King Charles hoisted his standard at Nottingham, and proclaimed the signal of war, between himself and the parliament. His first movement was directed towards Shrewsbury; but on his route thither, while at Stafford, he dispatched a courier to Chester, with the following letter:—

“ Charles R.—Trusty and well-beloved,—Wee greete you well. Whereas we have resolved to make repayre to our citie of Chester, on Friday next: These are to will and require you, to warne all the trayne bands of that our citie, to be in readiness and to give their attendance to us, in our entrance into the same, and to take care that necessary provision bee made for entertainment of us, and our retinue; so not doubting of your diligence therein, we bid you heartily farewell.—Given at our court at Stafford, 18th September, 1642.

“ To our trusty and well-beloved, the mayor, &c.”

The king entered the city on the very day he had named, accompanied with a numerous train of nobility and gentry; the several incorporated companies, with their respective colours and banners, were arranged along the Eastgate-street; while the sheriffs, sheriff's peers, and common council in their gowns, being well mounted, and their horses caparisoned, received his Majesty at Spittal Boughton. The mayor, recorder, and aldermen, in their official habiliments, also occupied the south side of Eastgate-street, upon elevated scaffolding hung round and decorated with tapestry. Upon his Majesty's arrival at the place were the magistrates stood, the recorder addressed him in an appropriate speech, after which the mayor immediately came down from the stand, and upon his knees delivered the city sword to the king, who graciously returned it, when his worship, bare-headed, carried the same before his Majesty to the Pentice, where he and his suite were entertained. The entertainment closed with a very acceptable offering to the royal guest, to whom a gift of 200*l.* was presented, and half that

sum to the prince of Wales. During the time of his remaining in the city, the king was lodged at the episcopal palace.

While his Majesty remained in the city, a representation was made to him that a quantity of arms and warlike stores had been clandestinely brought into the city, by the disaffected. For this, there does not appear to have been the slightest foundation; it seems only to have been a pretence, to justify an offensive attack upon individuals who were known to be opposed to the royal cause. The representation, however, produced the following ordinance from the king:—

“Charles R.—These are to will and require of you, and every of you, taking unto you and every of you, the assistance of the sheriffs of our city of Chester, and such other force of the said city, as you the said mayor thereof, Earl of Derby, Earl Rivers, Lord Viscount Cholmondeley, Robert Brerewood, recorder, William Gamul, Charles Walley, and Thomas Throppe, aldermen of our said city, or every of you as you shall thinke meete, as soon as you conveniently may, to search the several houses of Sir William Brereton, Bart. William Edwards, and Thomas Aldersey, aldermen, the Red Lion, and Golden Lyon Inns, situate in our said city, wherein you, or every of you, shall suspect to be any armes or ammunition, intended to be used against us, or any person or persons deriving authority from us, or against any of our loving subjects; and all such armes or ammunition, that you or any of you should find upon your said search, to seize and take into you custodies, for the use of us, to be disposed as we shall appoint.—Given at our court at Chester, this 26th of September, in the eighteenth year of our reign.”

On the following day, his Majesty issued his royal “declaration to all his loving subjects upon the occasion of his late messages to both houses of parliament, and their refusal to treat with him for the peace of the kingdom.”

His Majesty's departure was accelerated by intelligence received from private report, respecting the advantages acquired by the royal arms at the battle of Worcester. On the 28th of September, the king proceeded to Wrexham, and was escorted by the corporation to the city boundary. The day following he was waited upon by the mayor, who had declined the honour of knighthood, and was here presented by Garter, agreeably to his Ma-

jesty's orders, with a grant of arms, the bearings of which were coats assigned to the two first Norman earls of the palatinate.

When the counsellors of the king had decided upon open war, the city of Chester was deemed a place of great military importance; and it being considered, that there was at the time no military character of eminence on the spot that was equal to the taking charge of, and directing to good effect the courage of the inhabitants, his Majesty sent hither Sir Nicholas Byron,* a soldier of great talent and address, with a commission of Colonel-General of Cheshire and Shropshire, and to be governor of Chester.

But to recur to the efforts of the city for the object of defence, it is necessary to state, that soon after the first alarm, created by the tumult headed by Sir William Brereton, the citizens prepared in good earnest to meet the threatened storm. On Friday the 21st of October, the new mayor, Mr. William Ince, called a common council, which, taking into consideration the present and apparent danger, and how necessary it was that special care should be taken for the defence of the city, ordered, that three hundred men, inhabitants of Chester, should be raised, (beside the trained band thereof) and be properly armed; and the members of that assembly voluntarily offered to find, some more and some less, muskets, with their appurtenances, for the said levies, and to produce the same to be inspected by the mayor and his brethren, on the Tuesday following, at two o'clock in the afternoon. At another assembly, held upon Friday the 11th day of November, it was ordered, that in consideration of the dangers and distractions then in the nation, a constant watch should be kept for the preservation and safe-guard of the city, viz. that there should be four musketeers, and four halberdiers, day and night, at each gate, the Newgate excepted, to the care of which half the number to be

* This distinguished individual was the honoured progenitor of the late Lord Byron, who lately died at Missolonghi, while assisting the efforts of the Greeks in their struggle against Turkish tyranny.

appointed; and that there should be a sufficient court of guard continually kept at the High Cross, from whence the several watches might be relieved and supplied; that proper and experienced soldiers be appointed, to exercise and discipline the new raised men; that an assessment of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per month be made for the maintenance of the watch; and that on the Monday following there should be a general muster of all the soldiery within the city.

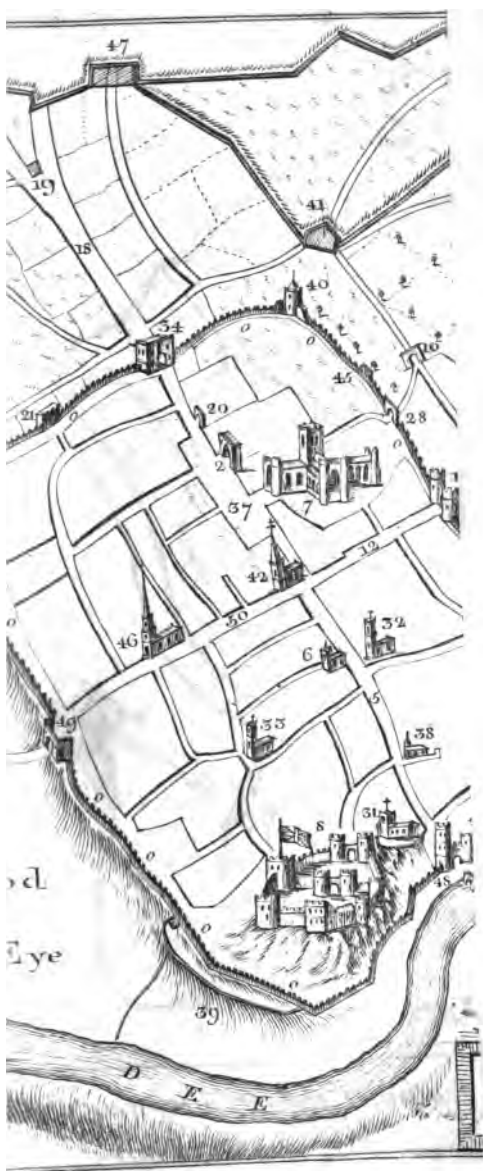
As the danger still approached nearer, the authorities redoubled their efforts. At an assembly held on the 3d of February following (1643) it was ordered, that an assessment of 500*l.* should be made, and forthwith collected, upon the citizens and inhabitants of the city.*

* The object of this order is expressed in the following minute, to which the signatures are appended: the latter can be of no interest, but only as they may mark the progenitors of several individuals now living, and who are resident in the city.

“Att an assemblie houlden in the Common-hall of Please, upon Friday the third day of February.—William Ince, Maior. civit. Cestr. Anno Domini 1643.—Anno Rex Caroli Decimo octavo.

“It is ordered by general consent, that the sume of five hundred pounds shall be forthwith assessed and levied upon all the inhabitants of this citie towards the making of fortifications for the defence thereof: And for all other publique charges requisite for the good of this citie, and in default of payment, the same to be levied by distresse.”—(Signed)

Wm. Ince, Maior	Thomas Aldersey, ald.	John Whittle
W. Crompton	Thomas Cooper, ald.	Edward Holton
John Johnson } Sheriffs	Rt. Flecher, ald.	Thomas Mottershead
Edw. Hallwood } Leave	Rt. Leycester, ald.	Hugh Leigh
Wm. Bennett } lookers	R. Holme, jun. ald.	Peter Goose
James, Earl of Derby	Hugh Whitehead	William Gregory
John, Earl of Rivers	Thomas Humphreyes	Edmund Williams
Sir T. Smith	John Aldersey	Alexander Byrd
R. Brerewood, recorder	Robert Ince	William Hincks
William Gamull, ald.	Richard Broster	Peter Ince
Nicholas Ince, ald.	William Jones	Chris. Berneard
Richard Dutton, ald.	William Parnell	John Wildinge
Chr. Blease, ald.	Robert Wright	Peter Leigh
Ch. Mallory, ald.	Richard Byrd	William Higgnet
Thomas Byrd, ald.	Edward Evans	John Whitby
Wm. Sparke, ald.	Calvin Bruen	John Leconby
Randle Holme, ald.	Edward Bradshaw	William Whittle
Fr. Gamull, ald.	Owen Hughes	Randle Davies
Wm. Edwards, ald.	Thomas Weston	Richard Sproston
Thomas Throppe, ald.	William Wilcocke	Laurence Massey
Rt. Sproston, ald.	William Drinkwater	Randle Burroughs
Rt. Harvie, ald.	Richard Bradshaw	John Brookes





The outworks and entrenchments were carried on with such vigour, that in the beginning of the summer of 1643, the *mud walls, mounts, bastions, &c.* were all completed, and several effective batteries planted. The outworks commenced at the Alcove, on the city walls, between the Northgate and the Water Tower, and proceeded towards the stone bridge leading to Blacon; then inclining to the north-east, took in the utmost limits of the Further Northgate-street, from thence they took an easterly direction towards Flookersbrook, which they crossed, and so on to Boughton, encompassing Horn-lane, and the Justing-croft, and finally terminated at the brink of the river.*

[SIGNATURES CONTINUED.]

Thomas Wright	John Sproston	Milo Pemberton
Edward Reynolds	Richard Lea	Humphrey Lloyd
Humphrey Philips	Lawrence Yonge	Gerrard Jones
Robert Anyon	Randle Richardson	William Ball
George Bennett	Henry Yonge	Daniel Greatbatch
Lawrence Flecher	Simon Lea	James Ravenscroft
Hugh Monson	Richard Dickinson	

The six assessors were, Aldermen Sparkes and Holme; Messrs. Richard Broster, Hugh Leigh, John Leckonby, and William Whittle.—Collectors, Messrs. William Jones, Owen Hughes, Edward Hulton, and Thomas Mottershead.

* The annexed plate and references, will furnish a more correct idea of these out-works, than can be given by any written description.

REFERENCES TO THE ACCOMPANYING PLAN.

1 Alcove, or Pember-	18 Further Northgate-st.	35 Newgate
ton's Parlour	19 Further Northgate-st.	36 New Tower
2 Abbey-gate	Turnpike	37 Northgate-street
3 Bars-gate	20 Further Abbey-gate	38 St. Olave's Church
4 Bridge-gate	21 Gun-mount	39 Outworks—Little
5 Bridge-street	22 Horn-lane	Rood-eye
6 Bridget's Church	23 Horn-lane Mount	40 Phoenix Tower
7 Cathedral	24 Horn-lane Flanker	41 Ditto Mount
8 Castle	25 St. John's Church	42 St. Peter's Church
9 Cow-lane	26 John's Church-yard	43 Reed's Mount
10 Cow-lane Turnpike	Battery	44 Raised Platform on
11 Eastgate	27 The Justing Croft	the Walls
12 Eastgate-street	28 Kaleyad-gate	45 Sadler's Tower
13 Foregate-street	29 Morgan's Mount	46 Trinity Church
14 Flankers on the river	30 Mount leading to	47 Dr. Walley's Mount
15 Flankers at Flookers-	Stone-bridge	48 Water Tower
brook	31 St. Mary's Church	49 Water-gate
16 Flankers, Fur. North-	32 St. Michael's Church	50 Watergate-street
gate-street	33 St. Martin's Church	o The Walls.
17 Flankers, Stone-bridge	34 Northgate	

It may not be amiss to apprise the reader, that in the history of that memorable siege upon which I am now entering, I have principally, though not altogether, adopted the narrative published in 1780, including that of Dr. Cowper; to which, however, several interesting details are added, from Randle Holme and others.

Upon Friday the 18th of July, 1643, Sir William Brereton, who had been appointed general of the forces in these parts, by the parliament, came with his troops before the city, and on the Thursday morning following made a violent assault upon the works, which were so resolutely defended, that he was beat off, and forced to retire. Many of his men were killed and carried off in carts; the besieged sustained no loss, except that one person was killed, who was fool-hardy enough to stand upright upon the highest part of the mud wall, in defiance of the enemy; and another was wounded by exposing himself in the like manner. Sir W. Brereton being so smartly repulsed, thought proper to draw off his men, and attempt nothing further against the city at that time. Soon after, Spital Boughton chapel was pulled down, and all the houses thereabouts; many other houses and barns in that neighbourhood were likewise destroyed, and the great wind-mill without the Northgate was taken down, to prevent the enemy from making lodgments in these buildings to the annoyance of the city.

On Saturday, November 11th, in the same year, Sir William Brereton, accompanied by alderman William Edwards, who had been mayor in 1636, came with a party to Hawarden castle, six miles from Chester. Thomas Ravenscroft of Bretton, Esq. and Mr. John Aldersey, being then in that garrison, opened the castle gates, and received Sir William and his party very joyfully. They being in possession of that strong fortress, and likewise of the town of Hawarden, prevented all that neighbourhood from bringing coals, corn, or provisions of any kind to the city, which proved a most serious inconvenience to the inhabitants.

In the afternoon of the same day, upon which Sir William Brereton entered Hawarden, Mr. Ravenscroft, pretending to be of the king's party, ventured into Chester, and applied to the governor for a barrel of gunpowder and a quantity of match, which, as he was unsuspected, were delivered to him by the store-keeper of the garrison. On the following Thursday, Sir William sent a summons from Hawarden to Sir Abraham Shipman, then governor of Chester, expressly requiring him to surrender that city, adding some severe threatenings in case of refusal. The governor sent him for answer, that he was not to be terrified by words, but bade him come, and win it and have it. However, upon this warning, the governor thought proper to order all the Handbridge suburbs to be burnt down. Mr. Matthew Ellis also covenanted, that Overlegh Hall, with all the outbuilding, should be demolished, to prevent the enemy at Hawarden from sheltering themselves there, if they should come and attack the city.

The day following, Mr. Whitby's mansion, Bache-hall, and Flookersbrook hall, Sir Thomas Smith's, were also burnt down, lest they might afford lodgements to enemies from another quarter. A party of the king's forces, which had been employed against the rebels in Ireland, landed about that time at Mostyn, in Flintshire, and advanced to Hawarden castle, to which they sent a verbal summons by a trumpet, when they in the garrison returned a long paper, in the puritanical style of those times, concluding thus:—"We fear the loss of our religion more than the loss of our dearest blood, and being resolved to make good our trust, we put our lives into the hands of that God, who can, and we hope will, secure them more than our walls, or weapons."

Colonel Marrow, who had summoned them by a trumpet, immediately sent the following reply:—

"Gentlemen.—It is not to hear you preach that I am sent hither, but it is, in his Majesty's name, to demand the castle for his Majesty's use; as your allegiance binds you to be true to him; and not to invade those innocent souls that are within you; so I desire your resolution, if you will deliver the castle or no.—Nov. 21st, 1643."

A rejoinder was soon sent from the castle in much the same style with their former answer, intimating, that they were satisfied of Colonel Marrow's disaffection to preaching; that God would require blood from those who shed it; that they relied upon the Lord of Hosts, &c.

On the 22d of November, more forces being arrived from Ireland, came up; and another summons was sent in from Sir Michael Ernley and Major-General Gibson, but they received an answer similar to the preceding ones. They had a letter too from one Captain Sandford, newly come from the service in Ireland, which, as it is somewhat singular, shall be here inserted:—

"Gentlemen—I presume you very well know, or have heard, of my condition and disposition, and that I neither give nor take quarter; I am now with my firelocks, who never yet neglected opportunity to correct rebels; ready to use you as I have done the Irish, but loth I am to spill my countrymen's blood; wherefore, by these I advise you to your fealty and obedience to his Majesty, and to shew yourselves faithful subjects by delivering the castle into my hands for his Majesty's use; in so doing you shall be received into mercy, &c. Otherwise, if you put me to the least trouble, or loss of blood to force you, expect no quarter for man, woman, or child. I hear you have some of our late Irish army in your company; they very well know me, and that my firelocks used not to parley. Be not unadvised, but think of your liberty, for I vow, all hopes of relief are taken from you, and our intents are not to starve you, but to batter and storm you, and then hang you all, and follow the rest of that rebel crew. I am no bread and cheese rogue, but was ever a loyalist, and will be while I can write or name THOMAS SANDFORD, Capt. of Firelocks.

"I expect your speedy answer this Tuesday night, at Broadlane-hall, where I now am your near neighbour.—To the officer commanding in chief at Hawarden Castle, and his consorts there."

No regard being paid by the garrison to these paper bullets, the besiegers deemed it advisable to apply to Chester for a reinforcement, and upon an application to this purport, the governor immediately called a council, which, after some debate, came to the following resolution:—

"At a council holden at the council-chamber, within his Majesty's castle at Chester, this first day of December, 1643; We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, having duly weighed and considered the application and request of Sir Michael Ernley, Knt. and Major-General Richard Gibson, for aid and assistance, whereby to enable them to reduce the rebel garrison of

Hawarden ; it is hereby ordered, that on the morrow, by break of day, three hundred of the citizens and train-bands, with their proper officers, together with the companies of Captain Thropp and Margell, do march to the assistance of the king's forces now at Hawarden, and that this detachment be commanded by lieutenant-colonel John Robinson.—(Signed)—Abraham Shipman, Robert Cholmondeley, Wm. Manwaring, Robert Brerewood, Tho. Cowper, Francis Gamull, R. Grosvenor, Tho. Thropp, Cha. Walley."

The reinforcement to which this order refers arrived at its destination on the 2d of December ; the next day a brisk attack was made upon the castle ; and early the following morning, the garrison hoisted the white flag, and capitulated upon these conditions :—That they should march out with half arms, two pair of colours, one flying, the other furled, and to have a safe conduct either to Wem or Nantwich. Thus was this important fortress, which it was feared would prove a most troublesome neighbour to the city, subdued in the very short space of three days. The party that marched from Chester to assist in its subjugation, returned to the city, without the loss of a single man. The royalists, being further reinforced by some regiments from Ireland, marched into Cheshire, under the command of Sir John, lately created Lord Byron, and took Beeston-castle,* for which the parliamentary governor there was soon after executed for cowardice.

During the latter part of 1643, and early in 1644, the city authorities were indefatigable in perfecting the preparations for the defence of the city, and in providing pecuniary supplies for that purpose.—At one of the assemblies of the body corporate, it was agreed, that a proposition made for raising three troops of horse for the defence of the city should be adopted, and it was thereupon ordered, that two men should go through the city,

* The loss of this fortress was very severely felt by the neighbouring gentry and farmers on the parliamentary side, who had deposited within its walls all their moveable effects of value, which, with ammunition, and provisions for a long period, now became the reward of the conquerors. There is a tradition in the neighbourhood, that the chief of the valuables were, on the approach of the enemy, thrown into the deep draw-wells on the higher and lower wards ; but this seems improbable, when the sudden capture of the garrison is considered.

as well to strangers as free-citizens, to know what they would be pleased freely to contribute towards the advancement of the said troops. At the same assembly, alderman Richard Dutton was requested with all speed to repair to Oxford, to present their duty to his Majesty, in answer to a most gracious letter received from him. Alderman Dutton consented, and it was ordered, that his expences should be defrayed at the expence of the city.

At another assembly it was ordered by general consent, that the justices within the city should weekly pay towards the reparation of the mud-walls the sum of twelve-pence; the sheriffs and the rest of the aldermen ten-pence; the common councilmen five-pence; also the sum of fifty pounds to be levied upon the inhabitants at large, for the speedy repairing the city gates, making of portcullis, cleansing the ditch by the Eastgate*, and all other things requisite for the good and safety of the garrison.

In the beginning of September (1643), it was ordered by an assembly, that the sum of one hundred pounds per week, for and towards the maintenance of the garrison, should be assessed as follows:—The sum of sixty pounds per week to be paid by the citizens and ancient inhabitants of the city and the liberties thereof; and the remainder, being the sum of forty pounds per week, to be paid by the nobility, gentry, clergy, and others who had come for protection in the city, to be collected by such as the governor should appoint: And the assessors of the sixty pounds were ordered to assess such of the city soldiers as were able and wealthy, having especial regard to such citizens as had most gainful trades in the city, whereby the poor might be eased in their assessments; and that this assessment be continued for five weeks only.—It was also ordered, that the treasurers of the city should examine the mud-walls according to the governor's desire, who were likewise to wait upon the governor, for his warrant to see the high sheriff of Flintshire,

* Probably where St. John's-street is now situated.

to press carts for the carriage of coals to the garrison.— At the same assembly, a petition was presented from the inhabitants near the Eastgate, showing, that their cellars, when rain fell, were overflowed, and such noisome smells proceeded therefrom, that they were not able to abide in their houses, much less to make use of their cellars; and they stated the reason to be, that the draw-bridge ditch was dammed and choaked up with filth, having no way to discharge itself. This complaint was ordered to be redressed, under the direction of the governor, and alderman Robert Starkie.

On the 31st of January (1644) during the mayoralty of Charles Walley, an order of assembly was made, that one hundred pounds worth of the ancient city plate should be forthwith converted into coin, for the necessary use and defence of the city. At the same assembly it was ordered, that the sum of eight score pounds should be assessed upon the city, to be collected at twenty pounds per week, for the perfecting the works, and maintaining thereof, also for making provision of matches,* coals and candles for the use of the garrison, viz. fifteen pounds a week from the free-citizens, and the remaining five from the nobility, gentry, and others who had fled into the city for protection in this present rebellion. It was also resolved, that as many persons as had refused to pay the former assessments, to the great prejudice of his Majesty's service, and safety of the city; such persons should be proceeded against, and their goods distrained for the payment thereof, and the same to be maintained as a city cause. There was also an order made to present the sum of three hundred pounds to the king, and the same sum to the prince of Wales.

But to recur to military affairs. In the early part of 1644, Lord Byron was invested with the chief command of the army in Cheshire, and made governor of the city. He soon after attacked Sir William Brereton, and Colonel Ashton, near Middlewich, and cut off near

* Before the discovery of flint, muskets were fired by lighted matches.

200 of their men, which was followed by the surrender of Northwich to the royalists. Crewe-house, after a stout resistance surrendered; and Doddington-hall and Acton church were taken without much opposition. There was not now one garrison in this neighbourhood that held out for the parliament, except Nantwich. Upon this place, Lord Byron made a sudden and violent attack, in the hope of reducing it; but being repulsed here with considerable loss, his lordship, with some difficulty, made good his retreat to the garrison of Chester.

On the 13th of February a detachment sallied out from the garrison, to attack a party of the parliamentary forces, who had made a lodgment at Christleton. The battle begun near Great Boughton, and after a bloody engagement, the enemy were forced to retire. In this battle, about a hundred men, officers and soldiers, were slain of the king's party, most of them Chester men. On the Wednesday following, Great Boughton was burnt down, to prevent the enemy from harbouring there.

Feb. 18. At an assembly of the corporation held this day, it was motioned by the right worshipful the mayor, that some course might be thought upon for the speedy raising of monies for his highness prince Rupert's foot regiment then resident in the garrison; whereupon information was given by his Majesty's commissioners for sequestrating of delinquents' estates (for the maintenance of the said garrison) that several sums were then due from the persons hereinafter mentioned, and it was ordered by this assembly, together with the said commissioners, that 50*l.* out of the said delinquents' estates should be transferred over to sergeant-major Mitchell, to be gathered by such as he shall appoint for the use of the regiment from the persons hereafter-mentioned:—From Mr. Edward Russell, 12*l.*, from John Gray 10*l.*, from Dr. Mainwaring 10*l.*; from Mr. William Allen 4*l.*, and from Sir Hugh Calveley 4*l.*, and that Alderman Parnell, and Alderman Broster give them notice of the same. It was also moved by the mayor, that the house would condescend and agree to a new assessment of 15*l.* on the

citizens, and 5*l*. on strangers (who made this city a refuge from the enemy), per week, for eight weeks, to be bestowed for the better fortification of the garrison, and the sudden making and erecting of a draw-bridge at the Bridge-gate of this city; which was unanimously agreed to by the said assembly.

About this time, prince Maurice arrived in the city, and soon after issued out a precept to the commissioners here, to tender the following protestation or test to the inhabitants:—

“To the Mayor of the city of Chester, Sir Francis Gamull, Sir William Manwaring, Lieutenant-colonel Robinson, Alderman Thomas Cowper, Lieutenant-colonel Grosvenor, Colonel Mostyn, Captain Thomas Thropp, Captain Morgell, or to any two of them.

“These are to will, authorize, and require you, or any two of you, to administer the protestation hereunto annexed, lately made for the security of this city, to all the nobility, gentry, divines, citizens, and all other inhabitants of this city; and to all and every the officers, soldiers, and others, that shall come into, or have any commerce within, the said city: And in case any person or persons refuse, deny, and will not take the same, you are hereby required to give in a list of the names of all and every person so refusing, unto me. Herein you are not to fail.—Given at Chester, under my hand and seal at arms, this 4th day of March, 1644.—MAURICE.”

THE PROTESTATION.

“I, A. B. do vow and protest, in the presence of Almighty God, that I believe in my heart, that the Earl of Essex, Sir William Brereton, and Sir Thomas Middleton, and all their party and adherents, are in actual rebellion against the king; and that I will, with myself, life, and fortune, and to the utmost of my power, maintain and defend his Majesty's cause against the said rebels, and all others who are now in arms without his Majesty's express consent and command; and that I will not give, nor, by any privity and consent, suffer to be given, any aid, assistance, or intelligence to the aforesaid rebels, or any of their parties, to the prejudice of the safety of this city of Chester, to the betraying of it, or any forces, castles, garrisons, or forts, under his Majesty's express command and government, or any of his dominions, into the said rebels' hands or power. And I do likewise, from my soul, abhor the taking of the damnable and late-invented covenant, commonly called the national covenant, impressed by the rebels upon many of his Majesty's subjects: And, to all I have protested, I call God to witness, believing I cannot be absolved by any power, mental reservation, or equivocation, from this my vow and protestation. So help me God, and by the contents of this book.”

During the summer, a variety of military operations were carried on in different parts of the county, by the two parties, but nothing material occurred in respect of

the city until the 19th of September, when Col. Jones and Adjutant-General Louthian, whose forces were then besieging Beeston castle, in the evening drew off 1300 horse and foot from that place, and advanced during the night towards Chester. They arrived in the suburbs before day-light the next morning, and immediately transmitted by a flag of truce the following peremptory summons:—

“To the Aldermen and Commonalty of the city of Chester.

“Such is our tender care of the preservation of this city from spoil, and to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, that we have sent a second summons to the commander-in-chief for the delivery of it for the use of the king and parliament; that you may see our reality herein, we signify to you (that which is obvious to all men) your desperate condition—hopeless of relief; forasmuch as the king is beaten in the field, fled farre from you, not able to gather any considerable recruits—also, that God hath lately encouraged us with a late glorious victory, and potent army—our batteryes are fixt, and nothing wanting for an immediate prosecution of this design, by the blessing of God; we desire you to ponder the premises, and to endeavour that the summons may find acceptance; which, if depised as the former, we stand cleare before God and the world of all such sad effects as necessarily will follow, by a hot storm of enraged soldiers, of which you have a sufficient premonition, by your servants, MICH. JONES, JAMES LOUTHIAN.”

Before the mayor had time to return an answer to this summons, the parliamentary commanders divided their forces into four squadrons, and stormed the out-works in many different places, obtaining possession of the works in some parts, even before the guards discovered them; and so with little loss made themselves masters not only of Boughton, but likewise of St. John's church, the adjacent lanes, the Foregate-street, and all the eastern suburbs. They also occupied the mayor's house, seized the sword, mace, &c. which were afterwards sent up to the parliament, as a trophy of this victory. The enemy then made a brisk attack upon the city itself, but were repulsed with loss.

The condition of the citizens was now become somewhat discouraging; their out-works had been wrested from them, and the city walls constituted the whole of their defence. After various skirmishes on each side, the following epistle was received from the besieging commanders, dated the 8th of October.

"Sir.—Although our condition be such that we need not court you, and notwithstanding your scornful rejection of a former summons, to clear our innocence before God and men of desiring the effusion of Christian blood, or the ruin of this ancient city, we once more demand the same with the castle and fort, for the use of the king and parliament, upon such conditions as may be honourable to both parties; which offer not embraced, and the acceptance thereof not signified to us within this hour, what misery shall ensue by fire and sword and spoil from enraged soldiers, let be charged upon your head; and let the world witness our unwillingness to use extremities, if you restrain not.—SYDENHAM POYNTE, MICH. JONES, JAMES LOUTHIAN.

To this summons, the following reply was returned on the same day.

"Gentlemen—Your letter of summons, intimating a former letter to the same purpose (which never came to either of our hands or knowledge) we have received, and must thereto return this answer: that we neither apprehend your condition to be so high, nor ours (God be thanked) to be so low, as to be threatened out of this city; and that we have received his Majesty's express command for the keeping thereof, and therefore cannot without his Majesty's knowledge break so great a trust laid upon us, and therefore must require liberty of fourteen days to give his Majesty an account of your demands, and to receive his further pleasure. To which purpose we shall appoint a gentleman and a citizen, for whom we shall expect to have a free passage forthwith to travel to his Majesty, to return to us without any let or interruption, and to have the conduct of a trumpeter of yours. At the expiration of which time we shall hearken to a treaty upon honourable conditions for the city, castle, and fort, if his Majesty do not relieve us. In the mean time shall expect that a cessation of arms and working be presently upon honourable terms undertaken and observed on both sides. If you shall refuse this customary and soldier-like proceeding, we do then declare, in the names of the noblemen, gentlemen, citizens and soldiers within this garrison, that we defy the fury of your enraged soldiers, and doubt not with God's blessing to defend and maintain this city for his Majesty and ourselves, as it now is, against any assault that shall be made, with as much resolution and courage as formerly, and remain, JOHN BYRON, CHARLES WALLLEY, mayor."

(ANSWER TO THE MAYOR, &c.)

"Gentlemen—Yours we have received, but cannot condescend to any of your requests therein. If you will not treat upon any conditions, you must expect what you defy, the fury of enraged soldiers. An answer to this our last intended you must return within half an hour at furthest. (Signed) POYNTE, JONES, and LOUTHIAN.—Oct. 9, 1644."

To this refusal and menace, the following bold and spirited letter was returned, which put an end to the correspondence with those commanders.

"Your refusal of our reasonable offer we have received, which argues you intended not that you intended, which was the saving of the nation

of Christian blood; we are therefore ready to defend ourselves against the uttermost of your rage, not doubting God's blessing and protection upon us, resting your servants, JOHN BYRON, CHARLES WALLEY."

About this period of the siege, the pecuniary levies upon the inhabitants amounted to about two hundred pounds every fortnight, for the support of the garrison, and other contingent expences. This was severely felt, and by many heavily complained of; and such was the difficulty of collecting them, that it was deemed necessary to employ the soldiery for the purpose, in some cases, and to commit the delinquent parties, in others. Owing to the disturbed state of the city, there was this year no election of mayor, but that office continued to be exercised by Mr. Charles Walley, who had with much credit to himself officiated the preceding year. Poyntz, Jones, and Louthian, who in the absence of Sir William Brereton had commanded before the city, were about this time removed to other quarters, and their place occupied by the latter, who on the 18th of November renewed the correspondence with the garrison by transmitting the following letter, addressed to Lord Byron, the mayor, and aldermen:—

"When I call to mind those ancient and honourable privileges and immunities which the citizens and freemen of the city of Chester, have purchased, by their faithful service to this kingdom, I cannot but attempt all fair means on my part, that may prevent the loss and destruction of so famous a city, and the effusion of blood, which must needs ensue, upon your continuance in that way you are in against the parliament and kingdom; therefore, notwithstanding your rejection of former summons (by others), I do now send to demand, for the use of the king and parliament, the city, castle, and fort; and to that end do make offer of treaty betwixt commissioners, as upon your speedy surrender thereof, shall be condescended unto, which hereafter must not be expected, if you remain obstinate. But that it may appear that I desire to reduce, not ruin the city, and that these may witness to those many inhabitants, now under your power, and to their posterity after them, that, if you hearken not hereunto, yourselves are the proper causes of the miseries of fire, famine, and the sword, which must justly and unavoidably fall upon you, but which I shall as much as is possible endeavour to prevent, whereunto expecting your speedy answer, I rest your servant, WILLIAM BRERETON."

(REPLY.)

"When we call to mind those ancient and honourable privileges and immunities granted heretofore to the citizens and freemen of the city of

Chester, for their loyalty to the crown, we cannot but wonder at your impetuosity in urging that as an argument to withdraw us from our allegiance, whereby if all other respects were forgotten, we are most obliged unto it, even in point of gratitude as well as conscience; the care you have professed to preserve this city, and to avoid the effusion of blood, is so much contradicted by your actions, that you must excuse us if we give credit rather to your deeds than your words. As for the fire, sword, and famine you threaten us withal, upon refusal of your unjust demands, we must tell you, that, blessed be God, we have little cause to fear them more than when you first sat down before this city, and doubt not the continuance of His divine protection in the defence of this just cause, wherein our liberties, religion, and allegiance to our sovereign, whose service is inseparable from that of the kingdom, are so deeply engaged. This is all the answer we think fit to return you for the past, and so rest your servants,—JOHN BYRON, CHARLES WALLEY.—Nov. 19, 1644.”

This was followed by a rejoinder from Sir William Brereton, of little consequence, and which closed the official correspondence for the remainder of the year. Early in the month of January, 1645, however, this paper intercourse was resumed by Sir William, and was continued throughout the month without intermission; but it led to no decisive results, and is only remarkable for the acrimony of the besieging enemy, and the steady firmness of the garrison not to surrender, but on terms consistent with their honour and loyalty. By the end of February, the enemy, who had been reinforced with additional troops from various quarters, had succeeded in surrounding the city, and placed garrisons at Hoole, Rowton, Huntingdon, Eccleston, Iron-bridge, Upton, &c. The citizens were altogether employed in defensive operations, not being able to effect any object of importance against an enemy superior in numbers, who had possession of their out-works, and were quartered at their gates. In this position the affairs of the respective parties remained until about the middle of September, when the garrison were gladdened by the welcome news, that the king had left Hereford, and was on his march with a large force for the relief of the city. The exultation of the citizens upon this prospect is represented as being beyond all bounds; they seemed to anticipate a speedy and complete victory over their enemy, against whom their long and extreme sufferings had greatly embittered

them ; and there is reason to believe, that in the excess of their joy, those measures of prudence, which would have realized their hopes, were grievously neglected.

On the 26th of September, his Majesty arrived at Chirk castle, where he remained with his forces during the night. The next morning he detached Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with most of the horse, over Holt-bridge, that they might be on the Cheshire side of the river Dee ; intending that Sir Marmaduke should fall upon the enemy in the rear, and that all the forces within the city should at the same time sally out, and so inclose them between two fires. The king, with his guards, and Lord Gerard with the remainder of the horse, marched this evening into the city, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the soldiers and citizens. His Majesty was lodged at the house of Sir Francis Gamull, a mansion situated a little below Castle-street, of which some notice will hereafter be taken.

The condition of the garrison now presented a promising appearance. Sir Marmaduke passed the river at Holt, and marching in the direction of Chester, drew up his forces upon Rowton-heath, about two miles from the city. The parliament army had watched the king's motions, to which service Major-General Poyntz was appointed. The latter, who had marched a much shorter way, after he was informed of the king's taking this route, and was advanced as far as Whitchurch, sent a letter to the commander before Chester, informing him that he was come to his assistance, and desiring him to send some foot that he might be more effectually enabled to act against the king's horse. This letter was intercepted by Sir Marmaduke, who turned it to his own advantage.

Early on the morning of the 27th of September, Poyntz advanced towards the city, when Sir Marmaduke attacked him with great resolution, and forced him to retire with considerable loss : the latter, however, was not in a condition to pursue his advantage, and Poyntz again drew up his men, in momentary expectation of the arrival of the forces from before the city, to whom he had

dispatched a second courier. During this time, the garrison of Chester not appearing to know the perilous situation of Sir Marmaduke, Lord Gerard sent him orders to advance towards Chester, where some troops should be ready to support him ; but the execution of this order was rendered impracticable, as its attempt would be followed by an attack from Poyntz upon his rear. About noon, Col. Jones and Adjutant-General Louthian, having drawn out 500 horse and 300 foot from before the city, commenced a hasty march, which induced a persuasion in the garrison, that they were on the flight. Under this impression, a considerable portion of the garrison received orders to pursue. They sallied out through the Northgate, and so by Flookersbrook, the direct way through the Eastgate being blocked up by the besieged ; but it soon appeared, that the supposed flight was no more than an eager desire to assist the operation of Poyntz. The latter, now perceiving the advance of this body, and having rallied his troops, immediately fell upon Sir Marmaduke, and a most furious conflict took place. Now Sir Marmaduke having to engage Poyntz in the front, and Jones's reinforcement having fallen upon his rear, after having fought bravely, was at length overpowered, routed, and forced to retire towards Chester. Poyntz pursued his victory, following most of the horse even to the walls of Chester, near which Lord Gerard and the Earl of Lindsey were drawn out with their troops, who charged and repulsed him. But those disordered horse which fled with Sir Marmaduke, had crowded all the little passes and narrow lanes between Hoole Heath and the city, a ground quite unfit for horse to fight upon ; so that when a fresh body of the enemy's musqueteers charged resolutely upon them, they forced the king's horse to turn and route one another, and overbear their own officers who would have restrained them. The king's routed horse were scattered about the country, numbers made for Holt-bridge, others ventured to cross the river at Boughton Ford ; for Poyntz being sufficiently satisfied with that day's success, pursued them no further.

Not one of our historians who have related the military operations of this day, have impugned the gallantry of the royal troops, or the conduct of their leader; but neither have they stated the cause of the failure of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's enterprize. The fact, however, appears to be, that his defeat, and the fatal results, are ascribable to the remissness of the king, or his commanders, in not supporting Sir Marmaduke at the critical juncture. The latter had received orders to beat Poyntz, which he accomplished, under an assurance that he should be supported in his attack upon the besieging army; but in this he was miserably disappointed.

The most satisfactory account that I have seen, of the negligence of the royal commanders, during the king's residence here, is contained in the following statement, written by Peter Shakerley, Esq. whose father, Sir Jeffrey, commanded a regiment of horse under Sir Marmaduke. I give the document at length, as it not only, in a great measure, accounts for the disasters of the day, but furnishes some curious facts.

"The heath upon which Sir Marmaduke Langdale was drawn up, carries the name of Rowton Heath; a mile beyond which, in the London road from Chester, is another heath, called Hatton Heath. The order which Sir Marmaduke had received from the king, was to beat Poyntz back. Sir Marmaduke performed the same effectually; for, having marched his men over Holt-bridge undiscovered by the enemy, who had taken the out-works and suburbs of the city on the east side thereof, and Poyntz coming in a marching posture along the narrow lane between Hatton Heath and Rowton Heath, Sir Marmaduke having lined the hedges, fell upon him, and killed a great many of his men; and having so done, ordered Colonel Shakerley, who was best acquainted with that country, to get the next way he could to the king (who lodged then at Sir Francis Gamull's house in Chester) and acquaint him that he had obeyed his orders in beating Poyntz back, and to know his Majesty's further pleasure. The colonel executed his orders with better speed than

could be expected ; for he galloped directly to the river Dee, under Huntingdon house, got a wooden tub (used for slaughtering of swine) and a batting staff (used for batting of coarse linen) for an oar, put a servant into the tub with him, and in this desperate manner swam over the river, his horse swimming by him (for the banks there were very steep, and the river very deep), ordered his servant to stay there with the tub for his return, and was with the king in little more than a quarter of an hour after he left Sir Marmaduke, and acquainted the king, that if his Majesty pleased to command further orders to Sir Marmaduke, he would engage to deliver them in a quarter of an hour, and told the king of the expeditious method he had taken, which saved him the going nine or ten miles about, by Holt-bridge (for the boats at Eaton were then made useless) ; but such delays were used by some about the king, that no orders were sent, nor any sally made out of the city by the king's party till past three o'clock in the afternoon, which was full six hours after Poyntz had been beaten back ; and so Poyntz having all that time for his men to recover their fright they had been put into in the morning, Poyntz rallied his forces, and with the help of the parliament forces who came out of the suburbs of the city to his assistance (upon whom the king's party in the city might then successfully have fallen) put all those of the king's to the route, which was the loss of the king's horse, and of his design to join Montross in Scotland, who was then understood to be in a good condition. This is what my father, the said Colonel Shakerley (afterwards Sir Geoffrey Shakerley), hath often declared in my hearing ; and since no mention is made of him in all this history,* (though he faithfully served the king in all the wars, was personally engaged in almost all the field battles for the king, sold part of his estate to support that service, and was for many years sequestered of all the rest), I thought it my duty, as his

* Meaning Clarendon's History of the Rebellion ; this account being written by Peter Shakerley, Esq. in one of the blank leaves.

eldest son and heir, to do that justice to his memory, to insert this here, under my hand, that it may be remembered to posterity.—PETER SHAKESLEY.”

In this fatal battle fell many gentlemen of high rank, and officers of distinction; and amongst the slain, covered over with wounds, was Bernard Stuart, the young gallant Earl of Lichfield, the third brother of that illustrious family that sacrificed their lives in the royal cause. It is computed that not less than 600 men were killed on both sides, and many persons of quality, of the king's party were taken prisoners, amongst whom was Sir Philip Musgrave, of the north. During the time of this fatal battle, his Majesty, attended by the mayor, Sir Francis Gamull, and Alderman Cowper, had the mortification of witnessing the rout of his army, from the leads of the Phoenix Tower;* and also, as Randle Holme affirms, from the roof of the cathedral. The city was now deemed to be a place of very doubtful security to his Majesty; and on the following day, the royal fugitive took his departure, after giving orders to lord Byron, the governor, and the commissioners, “that if, after ten days, they saw no reasonable prospect of relief, to treat for their own preservation.” The king marched over Dee-bridge with 500 horse, and, not without some danger, passed into Wales, and arrived that evening at Denbigh Castle, attended by Sir Francis Gamull, Captain Thropp, and Alderman Cowper. They remained with the king two days, when these loyal citizens took a sad and final leave of their royal master; and on their return to Chester, found it, if possible, in a more distressed situation than when they left it; for at four o'clock that morning, the enemy had again forced the works at Boughton, which at the last battle they had been obliged to quit, and repossessed themselves of all that part of the town without the Eastgate. The citizens, however, although again

* To render the contending armies visible from this Tower, it must be supposed that the intervening buildings at Boughton had been razed to the ground.

enclosed within the compass of their own walls, vigorously exerted themselves in defence of the city.

On the 29th of September, the besiegers effected a breach in the walls near the Newgate, by the battery of 150 cannon shot, and at night made a brisk assault upon this breach, but were repulsed. They likewise attempted to mount the walls with scaling ladders; in which attempt some officers and soldiers were hauled over the walls, several of the ladders dragged over, and many of the assailants thrown down and killed, the remainder precipitately abandoning the attack. On the 1st of October, the enemy removed their battery, planted thirteen pieces of cannon against the Eastgate, and played them furiously all that day, but with little or no damage to the city. Early the next morning the citizens sallied out, dismounted some of their ordnance, killed seven or eight men, and brought in a lieutenant and an engineer prisoners.

On the 4th, the assailants planted four large pieces against the walls between the Northgate and the Water Tower, where the besieged had some cannon planted on Morgan's Mount. The following day the enemy played their artillery so violently, that they beat down some of the battlements, and forced the king's soldiers to retire from the walls: they likewise, by a shot, shattered the carriage of one of the largest cannon, which in the fall had two feet of the muzzle broken off. These damages, however, were repaired during the night, by the besiegers, who made entrenchments in Lady Barrow's Hey,* which were found to be highly serviceable in the defence of that part of the city. On the 6th, the enemy removed their ordnance about six roods downwards, nearer to the Water Tower, without any great effect; and on the day following they raised a battery on the Brewer's-hall hill, endeavouring with those cannon to clear the line within the city.

* The field that extends from the North side of the Infirmary to the app-walk.

This seems to have been the utmost effort of the enemy to possess themselves of the place. On the evening of the 7th, the city was surrounded by their horse, and a violent assault was made in several places. The battlements were resolutely attacked, and as vigorously defended. For a long time the conflict was doubtful; the utmost courage and perseverance were equally displayed by both parties. At length the assailants, having with great difficulty gained the top of the walls, they were again beat off, thrown down, and killed. Once more the besieged possessed themselves of their scaling ladders, and took a considerable number of arms, which the enemy had left in their flight.

From this time the parliamentary commander despaired of taking the city by assault, and immediately converted the siege into a close blockade—a high compliment to the gallantry of the inhabitants of Chester, to whom it was an acknowledgment, that they were only conquerable by the resistless influence of starvation. In order to render the blockade more effective, the besieging army was reinforced by the troops just now released from their service at Latham-house; and immediately such dispositions were made, that the whole city was completely encompassed, every gate and avenue being closely guarded. At this period the enthusiasm of the garrison was wound up to the highest pitch, and no privations or sufferings seem to have damped their zeal against the enemy. Nor were the citizens less disposed to endure with patience and fortitude the general calamity. By the following description, given by Randle Holme, it seems that the female portion of the community peculiarly distinguished themselves, and gave a worthy example of zeal to the other citizens and soldiers. He says, “By this time, our women are all on fire, striving through a gallant emulation to out-do our men, and will make good our yielding walls, or lose their lives to shew they dare attempt it. The work goes forwards, and they, like so many valiant Amazons, do outface death and dare danger, though it lurk in every basket; seven

are shot, and three slain, yet they scorn to leave their matchless undertaking ; and thus they continued for ten days' space, possessing the beholders that they are immaculate! Our ladies likewise, like so many exemplary goddesses, created a matchless forwardness in the meaner sorts, by their daily undertakings, that he who saw them would have thought a hundred suns eclipsed, at least ways clouded with the loyal dust, had he been in that place, which they wipe off with such a pleasant smile, that they seem rather silent solicitors of a new deformity, than willing partners with that purchased honour." In another part of his narrative, the same writer, speaking of the bursting of some grenades of the enemy, describes their effects in the following metaphorical terms, and with a levity that by no means accords with the seriousness of the subject :—" Two houses in the Watergate-street, (says he) skip joint from joint, and create an earthquake ; the main posts jostle each other, while the frightened casements fly for fear : in a word, the whole fabric is a perfect chaos, lively set forth in this metamorphosis ; the grandmother, mother, and three children, are struck stocke dead, and buried in the ruins of their humble edifice. About midnight they shoot seven more, one of them lights in an old man's bed-chamber, almost dead with age, and sends him some days sooner to the grave than perhaps was given him. The next day (Dec. 11) six more breake in upon us, one of which persuades an old woman to bear the old man company to heaven, because the times were evil."

The beginning of the year 1646-7 found the garrison and the citizens in want of the common necessities of life, which created discontent and murmurings almost to a mutiny. The disaffected within the walls took advantage of this circumstance, and spread a rumour, that notwithstanding the general misery, the governor and commissioners themselves fared plenteously. To remove the impression that this insinuation was calculated to excite, which was totally groundless, Lord Byron and some of

the commissioners took an opportunity, severally to invite the chiefs of the mal-contents to dine with them, entertained them with boiled wheat, and gave them spring water to wash it down; solemnly assuring them, that such a repast as this had been their fare for some time past. When the minds of the citizens were disabused on this point, their confidence and courage were restored, and they intimated an unanimous resolution, to support them with their lives, and to hold out to the last extremity.

On the 10th of January, Sir William Brereton sent a threatening summons to the commanders, to which, for five days, no answer was returned. Sir William then sent another summons, peremptorily requiring them to answer it that day. A reply was then returned, in which they offered to proceed to a treaty, provided they had permission, to send to his Majesty, and that he should be unable to relieve the city in twelve days. This proposition was flatly rejected. In respect of provisions, the besieged were now in a far worse situation than ever, being so reduced, as to be compelled to feed upon horses, dogs, and cats, so pressing was their situation become. Yet by the judicious management of the governor and commissioners, both the town and garrison bore their sufferings with cheerful fortitude, as long as there remained the slightest probability of relief.

In this extremity, the garrison rejected nine different summonses, nor, till they had received undoubted assurances that there were no hopes of any succour, did they answer the tenth. Then, and not till then, they consented to a treaty, previous to which the following letters passed between the commanders :—

[FROM SIR WILLIAM BRERETON.]

“ My Lord—I cannot send you such propositions as have formerly been rejected, every day producing loss of blood and expence of treasure; neither will I trouble myself with answering the particulars of your unparalleled demands; to which, if I should suit mine, I should acquire no less than yourself, and all the officers and commanders to be my prisoners, and the rest to submit to mercy. Yet to witness my desires for the preservation of the city, I have, upon serious consideration and debate, thought fit to tender these enclosed conditions, as being conducive to the welfare of the city and country.

adjacent; for the perfecting thereof I am content commissioners meet, and have given commission to these gentlemen to receive your answer in writing to these propositions of mine herewith sent, touching which I shall not be so scrupulous as to demand their return, not valuing to what view they may be exposed; therefore, they are left with you if you please, and I remain your servant, WM. BREERETON.—Chester suburbs, Jan. 26, 1646.”

To this letter, Lord Byron replied, that he could not at present give a full answer, in regard that he must consult the gentlemen joined in the commission with him: however the next day he sent his answer thus:—

[REPLY.]

“SIR—Those demands of mine, which you term unparalleled, have been heretofore granted by far greater commanders than yourself no disparagement to you, to places in a far worse condition than, God be thanked, this is yet. Witness the Bosse, Breda, and Maestricht, and as many other towns as have been beleagued either by the Spaniards or the Hollanders; or, to come near, York and Carlisle, and nearest of all, Beeston-castle; and therefore you must excuse me, if, upon the authority of so many examples, I have not only propounded, but think fit to insist upon them, as the sense of all manner of people in the city. As for your conceit, in demanding of myself, and the rest of the commanders and officers, to be your prisoners, I would have you know, that we esteem our honour above our lives, that no extremity whatsoever can put so mean thoughts into the meanest of us all; that to submit to your mercy is by us reckoned amongst those things that we intend never to make use of. I am nevertheless still content that the commissioners, whose names I formerly tendered unto you, meet with such as you shall appoint, in any indifferent place, to treat upon honourable conditions; and desire you to assure yourself, that no other will be assented to, by your servant, JOHN BYRON.—Chester Castle, Jan. 27, 1646.”

[REJOINDER.]

“My Lord,—I cannot believe that you conceive the war between the Hollanders and Spaniards is to be made a precedent for us; neither can I believe that such conditions as you demand, were granted to the Bosse, Breda, or Maestricht. Sure I am, none such were given to York, Carlisle, or Beeston, though some of them were maintained by as great commanders as yourself, and no disparagement to you. I shall therefore offer to your consideration the example of Liverpool, Baring, and Latham, who by their refusal of honourable terms when they were propounded, were not long after subjected to captivity and the sword. You may, therefore, in pity to all those innocents under your command, tender their safety and the preservation of the city; for which end I have sent you fair and honourable conditions, such as are the sense of all the officers and soldiers with me; which being rejected, you may expect worse from your servant, WILLIAM BREERETON.—Chester suburbs, Jan. 27, 1646.

The preliminaries for pacification being now settled, Lord Byron fixed upon eighteen commissioners, and a greater number were appointed on behalf of the besiegers, a circumstance which is noticed by Sir Wm. Breton, in a letter to the parliament, wherein he says, "I was the more desirous to have a number of commissioners, that the soldiers might be better satisfied with that which was agreed unto by their officers; and the officers would be more careful to keep the soldiers to an observance of those conditions which they themselves had signed and ratified."

The negotiations for the final arrangement of the treaty continued six days, during which frequent differences arose among the city commissioners, when they withdrew from those of the enemy to consider of certain points. At length, however, conditions embraced in eighteen articles, were agreed to, and subscribed by twelve of the city commissioners, the following six dissenting from the treaty: Francis Gamull, Thomas Cowper, Sir Robert Brerewood, Charles Walley, Richard Morgell, and Robert Harvey. But the articles having been adopted by the majority, they were finally confirmed by the military commander, Lord Byron.

ARTICLES OF SURRENDER.

ARTICLE I.—"They, the Lord Byron, and all noblemen, commanders, officers, gentlemen, soldiers, and all other persons whatever, now residing in the city of Chester, and the castle and fort thereof, shall have liberty to march out of the said city, castle, and fort, with all their apparel whatsoever, and no other, or more goods, horses, or arms, than are hereafter-mentioned, viz. the Lord Byron with his horse and arms, and ten men with their horses and arms, to attend him; also his lady and servants, two coaches and four horses in each of them, for the accommodation of them and such other ladies and gentlemen as the said Lord Byron shall think meet; with eighty of the said lord's books, and all his deeds and evidences, manuscripts and writings in his possession. And the said lord and lady, nor any of his attendants, shall carry amongst them all above forty pounds in money, and twenty pounds in plate. The rest of the noblemen, with their ladies and servants to march with their horses, each of the said lords attended with four men, their horses and arms; and every such nobleman carrying with him not above thirty pounds in money. Every knight and colonel to march with four men, their horses and arms; no such knight or colonel to carry with him above ten pounds in money. Every lieutenant-colonel, major and captain of horse,

with one man, their horses and arms ; and such lieutenant-colonel, major and captain, not to carry with him above five pounds in money. Every captain of foot, esquire, graduate, preaching minister, gentleman of quality, the advocate and secretary of the army, every of them with his own horse and sword, the ministers without swords ; none of them carrying with him above fifty shillings ; and the ministers to have all their own manuscripts, notes and evidences. Lieutenants, cornets, ensigns, and other inferior officers in commission, on foot, with every man his own sword, and not above twenty shillings in money. All troopers, soldiers, gunpowder-makers, cannoniers, and all others not before mentioned to march without horse or arms ; and that none of the said persons before-mentioned shall, in their march, after they are out of the city and liberties thereof, be plundered, searched, or molested.

II.—“ That all women of what degree soever, that please to march out of the city, shall have all their apparel with them ; and such officers’ wives whose husbands are prisoners, or absent, may carry such sums of money with them as are allowed by these articles to commanders, officers, or gentlemen of their husband’s qualities, and no more.

III.—“ That none of the commanders, or any other, at or before their marching out of the city, castle, or fort, injure or plunder the goods or arms of any person, nor carry any thing away out of the city, castle, or fort, but what is their own, and hereby allowed.

IV.—“ That all citizens and others now residing within the city, shall be saved and secured in their persons, and their goods and estates within the city and liberties thereof, be preserved and kept from the plunder and violence of the soldiers ; and have the like freedom of trade as other towns under the parliament protection have, and such immunities as they of right ought to have. And that every such merchant and tradesman of Chester, as shall desire to go into North Wales to look after his goods, shall have a pass to go thither and return back again, he first giving security, that during his absence he will do no act to the prejudice of the parliament ; and that no such person shall at any time, without licence, carry more with him than sufficient to defray the charges of his journey. And that all citizens and other inhabitants (who shall now or hereafter desire to march out of the city of Chester, and not act any thing against the parliament), their wives and families shall have the benefits and privileges of inhabitants.

V.—“ That such officers or soldiers as shall be left sick or wounded within the city of Chester, or the castle or forts thereof, shall have liberty to stay till their recovery, and have passes or convoy to any of the king’s garrisons not blocked up, in the mean time to be provided for.

VI.—“ That the said Lord Byron, noblemen, commanders, gentlemen, officers, and soldiers, and all others that shall march out of the town, shall have liberty to march to Conway, and five days allowed them to march thither, with a convoy of two hundred horse ; the Welsh officers and soldiers shall have liberty to go to their own homes, all of them to have free quarters on their march, and twelve carriages, if they shall have occasion to use so many, which carriages are to be returned on the sixth day, and that passes be given them for their safe return to Chester, and that they be secured until they return thither.

VII.—“ That no soldier on his march shall be inveigled or enticed from his colours or command, with any promise or inducement whatsoever.

VIII.—“That all such persons, citizens, or others, who have families in Chester, and are now in places remote, shall have the like benefit of these articles, as those who are now resident in the city.

IX.—“That the friends of the Earls of Derby and Lichfield, or any of those whose dead bodies are not yet interred in Chester, shall have two months time to fetch them thence whither they please, provided that none of them come attended with above twenty horses.

X.—“That no church within the city, or evidence, or writings belonging to the same, shall be defaced.

XI.—“That such Irish as were born of Irish parents, and have taken part with the rebels in Ireland, now in the city, shall be prisoners.

XII.—“That all those horses and arms belonging to those that march out, and not by these articles allowed to be taken and carried out of the city, except such horses as are the proper goods of the citizens and inhabitants that shall remain in the city before the delivery of the same, be brought, the horses into the Castle-court, and the arms into the Shire-hall, where officers shall be appointed to receive them.

XIII.—“That in consideration of this, the said city and castle, without any alighting or defacing thereof, with all the ordnance, arms, ammunition, and all other furniture and provision of war therein whatsoever, except what is allowed to be carried away, and all the records in the castle without diminution, embezzling or defacing, be delivered to the said Sir William Brereton, or such as he shall appoint, for the use of the king and parliament, upon Tuesday next, being the third of this instant February, 1646, by ten o'clock in the forenoon.

XIV.—“That the fort, with all ordnance, arms, ammunition, and provisions therein, of what sort whatsoever, not firmly granted or allowed upon the signing these articles, be delivered to Sir William Brereton, or such as he shall appoint.

XV.—“That upon signing these articles, all prisoners in the city, castle, or fort, that have been in arms for the parliament, or imprisoned for adhering thereunto, shall immediately be at liberty.

XVI.—“That the convoys shall not receive any injury on their journey, going or coming back, and shall have three days allowed for their return.

XVII.—“That if any persons concerned in any of these articles, shall violate any part of them, such persons shall lose the benefit of the said articles.

XVIII.—That upon signing of the articles, sufficient hostages (such as shall be approved of) be given for the performance of the said articles. Signed by us the commissioners appointed on the behalf of the right honourable Lord Byron.

“Edmund Verney, John Robinson, Thomas Cholmondeley, Peter Griffith, Henry Leigh, Thomas Thropp, Christopher Blease, William Ince, John Werden, John Johnson, Edmund Moreton, Thomas Bridge.

“What is done by the commissioners is confirmed by

“J. BYRON.”

In conformity with these articles, the brave and loyal city of Chester, which had held out twenty weeks beyond expectation, being reduced by famine to the utmost extremity, was, upon the 3rd of February, 1646, surrendered up to the parliamentary forces ; who immediately took possession of it, and soon after two thousand arms and five hundred and twenty head pieces were brought into the castle, agreeably to the 14th article of the treaty. In a few days afterwards, orders were received from the parliament to regulate the garrison, appointing alderman William Edwards to be colonel of the regiment, and mayor of the city, until the time of electing a new mayor, which was fixed for the usual period in the year 1647. At the same time the sword and mace were restored to the city ; but the victors were by no means scrupulous in observing that part of the treaty which protected the sacred edifices ; they pulled down the High Cross, defaced the cathedral choir, injured the organ, broke nearly all the painted glass, and removed the fonts from the churches. Another act, which marked the temper of the ruling powers, was the removal of the under-named individuals from their offices of justices of the peace, aldermen, sheriff's-peers, and common-councilmen, by a public ordinance, which recited, that these delinquents had been in arms, or had otherwise been violent fomenters of these unnatural wars against the parliament, viz. Charles Walley, mayor ; Nicholas Ince, Randle Holme, Francis Gamull, Sir Robert Brerewood, Thomas Smith, Richard Dutton, and Robert Sproston, aldermen and justices of the peace. James Earl of Derby, John Earl Rivers, Richard Broster, and Thomas Savage, aldermen.—Humphrey Phillips, Edward Hulton, Thomas Weston, Richard Wright, Humphrey Lloyd, Richard Taylor, and Arthur Walley, sheriff's-peers and common-councilmen.

From the picture exhibited in the preceding narrative, some estimate may be formed of the mental and corporeal sufferings, as well as pecuniary distresses, sustained

by the inhabitants of Chester during this most calamitous conflict. For a period of three years, nothing was heard but the sound of warlike preparation, and for a considerable portion of it they were enclosed within their walls, the victims of starvation, while they were distracted with momentary apprehensions of the forcible entry of a vindictive and enraged soldiery. The incessant drains upon their property, in the shape of levies, for the maintenance of the garrison, and the support of their fugitive prince, had levelled the different classes of the community, and reduced the whole to one common condition of absolute beggary. Desolation and destruction marked the suburbs, which presented an undistinguished mass of ruins, the only remains of dwellings, once the peaceful habitations of content and security; while our walls and edifices within the city were defaced, or battered down by the destructive cannon. In addition to this, the city lands were all mortgaged, the funds quite exhausted, the plate melted down, and the churches, particularly St. John's,* being so long in the possession of the enemy, greatly damaged.

But I shall here add the description of an eye-witness, Randle Holme, who drew the picture from observation.

"Thus of the moste anchante and famous cittie of Chester, in times past; but now beholde and mark the ruines of it in these present times, within these few years, namely, within these three years 1643, 1644, 1645, the particular demolitions of it, now moste grievous to the spectators, and more woefull to the inhabitants thereof.

"*Imprimis*, without the Barrs, the chappelle of Spittle, with all the houses, and gardens, and edifices there.

"2. *Item*, all the houses, barns, and buildings, near to the Barrs, with Great Boughton, and Christleton.

* In January, 1814, a six-pound cannon-shot was found by the sexton, in digging a grave at the west end of the north aisle of this church. It is now in the possession of the Rev. Wm. Richardson, and probably formed part of the warlike munition of the besiegers, or was discharged from the city batteries.

"3. *Item*, in the Foregate-street, Cow-lane, St. John's-lane, with some other houses in the same street, all burned to the ground.

"4. *Item*, without the Foregate, from the said gate to the last house, Jollye's Hall, all burned and consumed to the ground, with all the lanes in the same, with the chappelle of Little St. John, not to be found.

"5. *Item*, from Dee-bridge over the water, all that long street called Handbridge, with all the lanes, barnes, and buildings about it, ruinated to the ground.

"6. *Item*, all the glovers' houses under the walles of the cittie, all pulled downe to the ground.

"7. *Item*, all the buildings and houses att the Watergate, upon the Roodee, pulled downe to the ground.

"8. *Item*, besides the famous houses of gentlemen in the same cittie, and near unto adjoining the Bach-hall, Mr. Whitbie's.

"9. Mr. W. Jollye's hall at the Northgate-street end.

"10. Blacon-hall, Sir Randall Crue's, with cottages belonging.

"11. The Nunne's hall, Sir William Brereton's.

"12. Mr. Ellis's hall on the Hough-greene.

"13. Flookersbrook-hall, Sir Thomas Smith.

"14. Mr. Walker's, or Shermen's mills.

"15. The Hall of Hole, Mr. Bunburie's.

"16. The Water Tower, at Dee Bridge.

"17. Bretton-hall, Mr. Ravenscrofte's.

"18. The Lord Cholmondeley's hall, in St. John's church yard, with the ruins of the said church.

"19. Mr. William Gamull's house att Newgate, with Mr. John Werden's house near unto it.

"20. The destruction of divers other houses in the cittie, with granadoes, too tedious to recite.

"21. The ruines of stalls, pentices, doores, trees, and barnes, in divers lanes and places in the cittie.

"22. The destroying of the Bishop's palace, with stables in the barne-yard, and the ruine of the great church.

“23. The charge of mudd walles, sodding, carrying, and building them, with centrye houses, both without the walles, and within the walles.

“24. The drawing dry of the cittie’s stockes, plate, rentes, and collections, not knowne, all which losses, charges, and demolishments, in opinion of most, will amount to two hundred thousand pounds att the least; so fare hath the God of heaven humbled this famous cittie; and note, here, that if Jerusalem, the particular beloved cittie of God, of which it is said in sacred writ, marke well her bulwarkes, and count her towers, in man’s judgement invincible; yet her sinne provoked God soe, that he leaved not a stone upon another; this may be an advertisement to us, that God’s mercy is yett to be found, since he hath left us soe many streets, lanes, and churches, yet unmolested. God grant us faith, patience, and true repentance, and amendment, that a worse danger befall us not.—Amen.”

With this quotation, I shall conclude my history of the memorable siege of Chester. In a subsequent part of the work the historical events from this period will be resumed, and brought down to the present time. But in the mean time, I shall advert to the ancient customs, sports, and pastimes of the city.



Ancient Customs, Sports, and Pastimes.

THE MIDSUMMER SHOW.

FROM a very early period, certainly anterior to the existence of the office of mayor, the city of Chester contained certain guilds, or incorporated companies. In the days of Hugh Lupus, and probably long before he was possessed of the city, it enjoyed by prescription divers privileges, having a guild mercatory, analogous to a modern corporation; so that no person, who was not of that society could exercise any trade, or carry on any commerce within its precincts. Such was the state in which the Normans found it, and these immunities, as we have already seen, were afterwards confirmed by the earls under their seals. Two overseers, selected out of the most respectable citizens, were appointed to maintain the rights of this guild. They received for the use of the city all the customs paid by strangers, unless at the fairs. It appears also from the Domesday book, that here was a supreme officer, called the *Præpositus Regis*, or provost, who had the care both of the civil and commercial interests. When, however, the local government of the city was committed to a chief magistrate, these officers appear to have lost much of their importance, their duties being confined to guarding their respective branches of trade from innovation by strangers. For this purpose, each company, in very early times,* appointed its alderman,

* The antiquity of the companies is satisfactorily shewn from the following document, which I have copied from some MS. collections by the late Rev. Thomas Crane, with which I have been favoured by his worthy surviving relative, the Rev. Thomas Bradford, of this city:—

“18th December, 11 Henry VII. 1495.—By an exemplification of this date, by letters patent under the great seal of the county palatine of Chester,

steward, or warden, by whom it continues to be governed to the present day, and who are chosen annually.

The number of the companies has formerly somewhat varied; they are now nominally twenty-five, though two of them no longer exist in fact. Their classification is as follows:—

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Tanners. | 14 Cordwainers. |
| 2 Merchants, Drapers, and Hostlers. | 15 Bakers. |
| 3 Brewers. | 16 Felchers, Bowyers, Coopers, and Stringers. |
| 4 Barbers, Chirurgeons, and Tallow Chandlers. | 17 Mercers, Grocers, Ironmongers, and Apothecaries. |
| 5 Cappers, Pinners, Wire-drawers, and Linen-drappers. | 18 Innholders, Cooks, and Victuallers. |
| 6 Bricklayers. | 19 Felt-makers, and Skinners. |
| 7 Wrights and Slaters. | 20 Sadlers, and Curriers. |
| 8 Joiners, Carvers, and Turners. | 21 Tailors. |
| 9 Painters, Glaziers, Embroiderers, and Stationers. | 22 Fishmongers (no longer existing). |
| 10 Goldsmiths, and Clock-makers. | 23 Cloth-workers, Walkers, and Masons. |
| 11 Smiths,* Cutlers, Pewterers, Card-makers, and Plumbers. | 24 Dyers (no longer a company). |
| 12 Butchers. | 25 Weavers. |
| 13 Glovers. | |

For many generations, these companies paid great deference to the mayor and the corporate body, by attending

it appears that there was then, and had been, "out of tyme of mynde a crafts called the craft of comen bakers" of the city of Chester, "havyng and longyng thereto an alderman and tow stewards to be chosen by the brethern of the same craft," to which said alderman, stewards, and company of bakers, and their successors, Arthur, at that time Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester (the first-born son of the most illustrious prince Henry the Seventh, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland), by the deliberation and advice of his council, approved, ratified, granted and confirmed certain customs, privileges and ordinances, respecting the said alderman, stewards, and company of bakers of the said city, as are mentioned in the said deed of exemplification. From this exemplification it appears, that the company of bakers existed in Chester long before there was a mayor in that city; for the company is here acknowledged by the highest authority to have existed from time immemorial. The exemplification is written partly in abbreviated Latin and partly in English, and the great seal appending is in good condition."

* The company of smiths have now in their possession a curious silver medal, which was presented to them by Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII. when he was in Chester in the year 1498. It is round, about three

them with their respective banners, in their public processions, and walking before them, particularly on their annual visit to St. Oswald's church, formerly on Midsummer day, but, since the restoration, on the 29th of May, when great pageantry was displayed. The companies have now lost much of their ancient splendour and consequence, and with this loss has also disappeared that respect and reverence which were formerly shown to the constituted authorities. With these companies originated the famous *Midsummer Show*, which, as a most curious object, is worthy of particular notice. This Show, according to Webb, in King's Vale Royal, was instituted in 1498, and appears to have been composed of processions of the different companies, attended by various pageants and devices. Among the Harleian MSS. is an agreement between Sir Lawrence Smith, Mayor of Chester, and two artists, "for the annual painting of the city's four giants, one unicorn, one dromedarye, one luce, one camel, one asse, one dragon, six hobby-horses, and sixteen naked boys." In another MS. in the same library, (No. 2125,) it is said, "A.D. 1599, Henry Hardware, Esq. the mayor, was a godly and zealous man; he caused 'the gyauntes in the midsomer show to be broken, and not to goe; the devil in his feathers he put awaye, and the cuppes and cannes, and the dragon, and the naked boys.' In a more modern hand it is added, 'and he caused a man in complete armour to go in their stead; he also caused the bull-ring to be taken up,' &c. But in the year 1601, John Ratelyffe being mayor, 'set out the

inches across, has several implements rudely cut on the convex side, descriptive of their craft, which is surmounted by a *flower-de-luce*, in relief, weighs about four ounces, and has a thin silver chain appended. By the permission of John and George Campbell, alderman and steward of the company, I obtained a sight of this curious relique, which is carefully preserved; and also copied from their books the following entry, made at the time of its presentation:—"Thomas Edyan, smith to Prince Arthur, being att the castle of Chester, in the 14th yeare of the reigne of Henrie the Seventh, his father, then beinge king of England. And att the same tyme, Prince Arthur gave unto the sayd Edgan a crown of silver gilt, a Hammer, with Heeschec and Pincen, the Armes of Smiths, to them and thiere successors for ever!"

giaunts, and midsomer show as of ould it was wont to be kept.' The following payments were made for the show, in 1628 :—

" To four men that carried the two beasts	4s. 8d.
To the five men that held the boys that ridd	2s. 6d.
For painting the beasts and hobby-horses	43s. 0d."

During the government of the puritans, all these shows and pageants were of course suspended, and the giants and hobby-horses all fell a prey to the worms and moths. At the restoration of Charles the Second, it was determined to revive "the ancient and laudable custom of the Midsummer show, by the late obstructive times much injured ;" and as the following computation of the charges for the different parts of the spectacle, are exceedingly curious, I shall lay them before the reader without any apology. In the ordinance by which the show was restored, we are told "that all things are to be made new, by reason the old modell was all broken." The computist then proceeds :—

"For finding all the materials, with the workmanship of the four great giants, all to be made new, as neere as may be lyke as they were before, at five pounds a giant the least that can be, and four men to carry them at two shillings and sixpence each ! The materials for the composition of these monsters, are afterwards specified to be, 'hoops of various magnitudes, and other productions of the cooper, deal boards, nails, paste boards, scaleboard, paper of various sorts, with buckram, size-cloth, and old sheets for their bodies, sleeves and shirts,* which were to be coloured ; also tinsille, tinfoil, gold and silver leaf, and colours of different kinds, with glue and paste in abundance.' Respecting the last article, a very curious entry occurs in the bill of charges, which runs thus :—'For arsknick to put into the paste to save the giants from

* One pair of the 'ould sheets' were provided to cover the 'father and mother giants.' Another article specifies, 'three yards of buckram for the mother's and daughter's hoods ;' which seems to prove that three of these stupendous pasteboard personages were the representatives of females.

being eaten by the rats, one shilling and fourpence.' But to go on with the estimate, 'For the new making the city mount, called the maior's mount, as aunciently it was, and for hireing of bays for the same, and a man to carry it, three pounds six shillings and eightpence.' The bays mentioned in this and the succeeding article was hung round the bottom of the frame, and extended to the ground, or near it, to conceal the bearers. 'For making anew the merchant mount, as it aunciently was, with a ship to turn round, the hiring of the bays, and five men to carry it, four pounds.' The ship and new dressing it is charged at five shillings; it was probably made with pasteboard, which seems to have been a principal article in the manufacturing of both the moveable mountains;* it was turned by means of a swivel attached to an iron handle underneath the frame. 'For making anew the elephant and castell, and a Cupid, with his bow and arrows, suitable to it;' the castle was covered with tinfoil, and the Cupid with skins, so as to appear to be naked; 'and also for two men to carry them, one pound sixteen shillings and eight-pence; for making anew the four beastes, called the unicorn, the antilope, the flower-de-luce, and the camell, one pound sixteen shillings and fourpence apiece, and for eight men to carry them, sixteen shillings. For four hobby-horses, six shillings and eight-pence apiece; and for four boys to carry them, four shillings. For lance-staves, garlands and balls, for the attendants upon the mayor and sheriffs, one pound nineteen shillings. For makinge anew the dragon, and for six naked boys to beat at it, one pound sixteen shillings. For six morris-dancers, with a pipe and tabret, twenty shillings.'

The whole expence for this pageant amounted to something more than 45*l.* which was paid in portions by the mayor, sheriffs, and leave-lookers.

In the year 1666, an order of assembly was made, that all who were of the common-council should accompany the leave-lookers from the Bars, during the show,

* In the bill of charges for the 'merchant's mount,' is an entry of twenty-pence paid to a joyner for cutting the pasteboard into several images.

according to ancient custom, upon pain of forfeiting ten shillings apiece; and the members of the company were also ordered to attend, on pain of forfeiting five shillings. In 1670 it was ordered, that the show held at Midsummer should be observed on Whit Tuesday, being more convenient, and all those failing in attendance, without a reasonable excuse to be allowed by the mayor, should pay five shillings; and the company failing to "put forth" their boy and horse, to pay five pounds to the city." The observance of this ancient custom continued until the year 1678, when it was finally abolished by an order of the corporation.

Though the origin of the Midsummer Show in Chester is placed at the close of the fifteenth century, I am inclined to think this date refers to the *form* it then assumed, and not to its first existence; because in some mode or other, Midsummer-day has been celebrated from the earliest times of which there are any records. The Pagan rites of this festival at the summer solstice, may be considered as a counterpart of those used at the winter solstice, or Yuletide. Sir Isaac Newton observes, that "the heathens were delighted with the festivals of their gods, and unwilling to part with those ceremonies; therefore Gregory, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, in Pontus, to facilitate their conversion, instituted annual festivals to the saints and martyrs: hence the keeping of Christmas with joy, feasting, plays and sports, came in the room of Bacchanalia and Saturnalia; the celebrating May-day with flowers, in the room of Florella, and the festivals to the Virgin Mary, *John the Baptist*, and divers of the apostles, in the room of the solemnities at the entrances of the sun into the signs of the zodiac in the old Julian calendar." The learned Gebelin calls this festival a "religious ceremony of the most remote antiquity, which was observed for the prosperity of states and people;" or as our Cæstrian ancestors of the fifteenth century would say, "for the preservation of the king, his crown and dignity." According to our most ancient historians, this festival was formerly celebrated chiefly by bonfires; but in later times, the

pageants to those of Chester, were introduced in different parts of England, though I have met with no account of any place which had so much parade or splendour exhibited as here. It is not very easy to account for the introduction of *dragons* and *giants* into their processions, unless it was their taste for fabulous history; but it is certain the same description of personages was paraded in other places, upon like occasions.

Dr. Plott, in his history of Oxfordshire, mentions a custom at Burford, in that county, of making a *dragon* yearly, and carrying it up and down the town in great jollity, on Midsummer Eve, to which he says, not knowing for what reason, they added a *Giant*. In the printed accounts of the churchwardens of St. Margaret, Westminster, under the year 1401, are the following items:—

Received of the Churchwardens of St. Sepulchre's for the <i>Dragon</i> ...	2s. 8d.
Paid for dressing of the <i>Dragon</i> and for pack-thread.....	0d. 0d.
To Michael Wosebyche, for making of vill <i>Dragons</i>	6s. 8d.

Puttenham, in his "Arte of English Poesie," 4to. 1589, p. 128, speaks of *Midsommer Pageants* in London, "where to make the people wonder, are set forth great and ugly *Giants*, marching as if they were alive, and armed at all points, but within they are stuffed full of browne paper and tow, which the shrewd boyes, underpeering, do guilefully discover and turne to a greater derision." In the churchwardens' accounts of St. Andrew Hubbard parish, in the city of London, A.D. 1533 to 1535, we have—

Receyvyd for the *Joyant*, xixs.

Receyvyd for the *Joyant*, iijl. viijd.

probably alluding to some parochial midsummer pageant. If, therefore, we be disposed to censure our forefathers of Chester, for their ridiculous and fantastic amusements, it must be recollected, that they have been accompanied in their folly by the inhabitants of the metropolis, as well as of other places. On the subject of *Giants*, it may be curious to add, that Dr. Milner, in his History of Winchester, 4to. 1798, p. 8, speaking of the gigantic statue that enclosed a number of human victims, gives us this new intelligence concerning it:—*In different places on*

the opposite side of the channel, where we are assured that the rites in question prevailed; amongst the rest at Dunkirk and Douay, it has been an immemorial custom, on a certain holiday in the year, to build up an immense figure of basket-work and canvass, to the height of forty or fifty feet, which, when properly painted and dressed, represented a huge *Giant*, which also contained a number of living men within it, who raised the same, and caused it to move from place to place. The popular tradition was, that this figure represented a certain Pagan Giant, who used to devour the inhabitants of these places, until he was killed by the patron saint of the same. Have we not here a plain trace of the horrid sacrifices of Druidism, offered up to Saturn, or Moloch, and of the beneficial effect of Christianity in destroying the same."

The following account of some other customs and pastimes, which were annually exhibited by the various companies, under the superintendence of the corporation appears to have been drawn up by a son of the Rev. Robert Rogers, archdeacon of Chester, who died in 1595. The manuscript is in the possession of Mrs. Nicholls, of Nicholas-street, in this city, and is entitled, "Certayne collections of anchiante times, concerninge the anchante and famous cittie of Chester, collected by that reverend man of God, Mr. Robert Rogers, bachellor of divinitie, archdeacon of Chester, parsone of Gooseworth, and preband in the cathedral of Chester; being but in scattered notes, and by his son reduced into these chapters following." This manuscript was first printed by the Messrs. Lysons, in their *Magna Britannia*, and has been copied into the great work of Ormerod, and by others; it contains many curious particulars respecting ancient customs long since abolished, and the origin of our annual races on the Rood-eye, which are continued to this day. The following is a copy:—

"Of the laudable Exercises yearly used within the cittie of Chester.

"MEM.—That whereas the companye and corporation of shoemakers within the cittie of Chester, did

yearly, time out of memory of man, upon Tewsday, or otherwise *Goteddesse* day afternoon, at the cross upon the Rood Dee, before the mayor of the said cittie, offer unto the company of drapers of the same cittie, a ball of leather, called a foote-ball, of the value of 3s. and 4d. or thereabout: and by reason of greate strife which did arise among the younge persons of the same cittie (while diverse parties were taken with force and stronge handes to bringe the said ball to one of these three houses, that is to say, to the mayor's house, or any one of the two sheriffs' houses of the time being), much harme was done, some in the great thronge fallinge into a trance, some having their bodies brused and crushed; some their arms, heades, or legges broken, and some otherwise maimed, or in perill of life; to avoid the said inconveniences, and also to torne and converte the saide homage to a better use; it was thought good by the mayor of the saide cittie, and the rest of the common-council, to exchange of the saide foote-ball as followeth: that in place thereof there be offered by the shoemakers to the drapers six gleaves* of silver, the which gleaves they appoynted to be rewards unto such men as would come, and the same day and place, passe and overcome on foote all others: and the said gleaves were presently delivered according to the runninge of every one; and this exchange was made in the time when Henry Gee was mayor of Chester,† A. D.

* Javelins, or hand darts.

† The following is a copy of the order for the above-mentioned change, extracted from "The orders and acts of assembly of the mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city of Chester, in the Town-clerk's office.

"10 Jan. 3 Hen. VIII. Henry Gee, Mayor.

After reciting the ancient use of archery and shooting in the long-bow, for the honour and defence of the realm, and that the same is much decayed, and other unlawful games more in use, "Ordered by the mayor, aldermen, and common council, with the consent of the whole occupation of drapers, saddlers, and shoe-makers, (which always have, time out of mind, given and delivered yearly, on Shrove-Tuesday in the afternoon, unto the drapers, before the mayor, at the cross or the Roodee, one ball of leather, called a foot-ball, of the value of 3s. 4d. or above, to play at from thence to the common-hall of the said city, and further at the pleasure of the evil-disposed

1539, and in the thirty-first year of King Henry the Eighth.

"Alsoe, whereas the companye and occupation of the Saddlers, within the cittie of Chester, did yearly by custome, time out of memorie of man, the same day, hour, and place, before the mayor, offer upon a truncheon, staffe, or speare, a certain homage, to the drapers of the cittie of Chester, called the saddler's ball, profitable for few uses or purposes, as it was, beinge a ball of silke of the bigness of a bowle, it was turned into a silver bell, weighing about two ounces, as is supposed, of silver; the which saide silver bell was ordayned to be the rewarde for that horse, which with speedy runninge then should run before all others, and there presently should be given the daye and place. This alteration was made the same time, and by the same mayor, like as the shoemaker's foote-ball was before exchanged into six silver gleeves. Also whereas of an anchant custom, whereof man's

persons, whereof hath arisen great inconvenience) shall give and deliver yearly to the said drapers before the mayor at the said time and place, six silver gleeves, each of the value of 27d. or above, to be disposed of at the pleasure of the said mayor and drapers, to him that shall win a foot-race before them, on that or any other day; and that the saddlers (who have out of mind given and delivered, yearly, at the same time and place, every master of them, unto the drapers, before the mayor, one painted ball of wood, with flowers and arms, upon the point of a spear, beinge goodly arrayed upon horseback accordingly) shall henceforth give and deliver to the said drapers, before the mayor, at the same time and place, upon horseback, a ball of silver, to the value of 3s. 4d. to be disposed of at the discretion of the mayor and drapers to him that shall get the horse-race on that day; and that every man that hath been married in the said city since Shrove Tuesday last past, shall then and there also deliver to the said drapers, before the mayor, an arrow of silver, to the value of 5s. or above, instead of such ball of silk and velvet, which such married man ought then to have given or delivered, by the ancient custom of the said city (used time out of mind), which silver arrow shall be disposed of by the mayor and drapers, for the preferment of the said feat and exercise of shooting in a long bow, for avoiding the said inconveniences, any use or prescription to the contrary notwithstanding: and also, the said drapers and their successors, shall keep yearly their recreation and drinking, as they have used to do, time out of mind. And that the shoemakers and saddlers, and persons hereafter to be married, shall observe this order, upon pain of 20s. for every offence, *toties quoties*, to be forfeited to the drapers according to ancient custom."

memorie nowe livinge cannot remember the original or beginninge, the same daye, however, and place, before the mayer for the time beinge, every person which is married within the liberties of the saide cittie, dwelling wheretoever without, and all those that dwelle within the said cittie, for one year before, and marye elsewhere did offer likewise a homage to the saide companye of drapers before the mayor, a ball of silke, of the bigness of a bowle: the same mayor torne the same balls into silver arrowes, the which arrowes they tooke order should be given to those which did shoote the longest shoote, with diverse kinds of arrowes: this exchange was made as before is mentioned of the shoemakers' foote-ball and the saddlers' ball. In which exchanges there appeared wisdom in anchant and sage senators, whoe had greata studye and regarde to torne the foresaide thinges unto soe profitable uses and exercises; so that three of the most commendable exercises and practices of warlike feates be, as runninge of men on foote, runninge of horses, and shootinge of the broade arrowe, the flighte and the butt-shafte, in citties of England, soe farr as I understand."

"OF THE SHERIFFES' BREAKEFASTE.

"There is an anchant custome in this cittie of Chester, the memory of man now livinge not knowing the original,* that upon Monday in Easter weeke, yearly, commonly called Black Monday,† the two sheriffes of the cittie do shoote for a breakfaste of calves-heades and bacon, comonly called the sheriffes' breakfaste‡, the

* By some MS. annals, contained in Archdeacon Rogers's book, the commencement of this custom is stated to be the year 1614.

† So called from remarkably dark and inclement weather, which happened on Easter Monday, 1350, when king Edward III. lay with his army before Paris, and proved fatal to many of his troops.—How's Chaucer.

‡ In the year 1640, the sheriffs gave a piece of plate to be run for, instead of the calves-head breakfast. In 1674, a resolution was entered in the

maner being thus:—The day before, the drum sowndeth through the cittie, with a proclamation for all gentlemen, yeomen, and good fellowes, that will come with their bowes and arrowes to take parte with one sheriff or the other, and upon Monday morning, on the Rode-dee, the mayor, shreeves, aldermen, and any other gentlemen, that wol be there, the one sherife chosing one, and the other sherife chosing another, and soe of the archers; then one sherife shoteth, and the other sherife he shoteth to *shode* him, beinge at length some twelve score: soe all the archers on one side to shote till it be *shode*, and soe till three shutes be wonne, and then all the winners' side goe up together, firste with arrowes in their handes, and all the loosers with bowes in their hands together, to the common-hall of the cittie, where the maior, aldermen, and gentlemen, and the reste, take parte together of the saide breakfaste in loveing manner; this is yearly done, it beinge a comendable exercise, a good recreation, and a loveing assemblie."

"OF ST. GEORGE'S RACE, OF LATE TIME
INVENTED, AND WHEN ALTERED.

"In A. D. 1609,* Mr. William Leicester, mercer, beinge mayor of Chester, one Mr. Robert Amerye, ironmonger, sometime sherife of Chester (A. D. 1608), he, with the assente of the mayor and cittie, at his own coste chiefly, as I conceive, caused three silver cupps of good value to be made, the whiche saide silver cupps were, upon St. George's daye, for ever to be thus disposed: all

corporation journals, that the calves-head feast was held by ancient custom and usage, and was not to be at the pleasure of the sheriffs and leave-lookers. In the month of March, 1676-7, the sheriffs and leave-lookers were fined £10. for not keeping the calves-head feast. For this feast was afterwards substituted an annual dinner, usually given by the sheriffs at their own houses, on any day most suitable to their convenience.

* Mr. Amorye places the date in 1610.

gentlemen that woulde bringe their horses to the Rood-dee that daye, and there rune, that horse which with speede did over-rune the reste, shoulde have the beste cuppe there presently delivered, and that horse which came seconde, next the firste, before the reste, had the seconde cuppe there also delivered; and for the third cuppe, it was to be rune for at the ringe, by any gentleman that would rune for the same, upon the said Rood-dee, and upon St. George's daye, being thus decreed, that every horse putt in soe much money as made the value of the cupps or bells,* and had the money, which horses did winne the same, and the use of the cupps, till that daye twelve month, being in bond to deliver in the cupps that daye; soe also for the cuppe for the ringe, which was yearely continued accordingly, untill the yeare of our Lord 1623; John Brereton, inn-holder, being mayor of Chester, he altered the same after this manner, and caused the three cupps to be sould, and caused more money to be gathered and added, so that the intereste thereof woulde make one faire silver cuppe, of the value of 8*l.* as I suppose, it maye be more worth,† and the race to be altered, viz. from beyonde the New Tower a great distance, and soe to rune five times from that place rownd about the Rood-dee, and he that overcame all the rest the last course, to have the cuppe freely for ever, then and there delivered, which is continued to this daye. But here I must not omitt the charge, and the solemnitie made, the first St. George's daye; he had a poet, one Mr. Davies, whoe made speeches and poeticale verses, which were delivered at the high-crosse, before the mayor and aldermen, with

* Among the corporation records are some old articles of a race for two bells, and likewise for a cup to be run for at the ring: the bell appears to have been first given as a prize at the horse races at Chester, in 1512. From this early custom of running for a bell as a prize, may probably have arisen the very common proverb, "to bear the bell."

† In the year 1629, the companies contributed to St. George's race, to make up a sum of money; in 1640 the sheriffs gave a piece of plate of £13. 6*s.* 8*d.* value, to be run for on Easter-Tuesday in lieu of the sheriff's breakfast.

showes of his invention,* which booke was imprinted and presented to that famous Prince Henry, eldest sonne to the blessed King James, of famous memorie. Alas,

* Mr. Amorye himself, it appears, was the writer of the following description of this show, which is copied from some Cheshire collections among the Harleian MSS. (No. 8159). It appears from his account, that instead of three cups, as stated by Mr. Rogers, the prizes that year were two bells and one cup.

"The maner of the showe, that is, if God spare life and health, shall be seen by all the behoulders upen St. George's day next, being the 23rd of April, 1610, and the same with more additions to continue, being for the kyng's crowne and dignitie, and the homage to the kyng and prynce, with that noble victor St. George to be continued for ever.—God save the kyng.

"Item.—Two men in greene liveries, set with worke upon their other habet, with blacke heare, and blacke beards, very ougly to behould, and garlands upen their heads, with fix-works to scatter abroad, to maintaine way for the rest of the showe.

"It.—One on horsebacke, with the buckler and head-piece of St. George, and three men to guide him, with a drum before him, for the honor of Englands.

"It.—One on horsebacke called Fame, with a trumpet in his hand, and three men to guide him, and he to make an oration, with his habit in pompe.

"It.—One called Mercury, to descend from above in a cloude; his wings, and all other matters, in pompe, and heavenly musicke with him; and after his oration spoken, to ryde on horsebacke, with his musicke before hym.

"It.—One called Chester, with an oration, and drums before him, his habit in pompe.

"It.—One on horsebacke, with the kyng's armes upon a shield, in pompe.

"It.—One on horsebacke, containing the kyng's crowne and dignity, with an oration, in pompe.

"It.—One on horsebacke, with a bell, dedicated to the kyng, being double-gilt, with the kyng's armes upon it, carried upon a septer, in pompe, and before him a noyse of trumpets, in pompe.

"It.—One on horsebacke, with an oration for the prynce, in pompe.

"It.—One on horsebacke, with the bell, dedicated to the prynce, his armes upon it, in pompe, and to be carried on a septer, and before the bell a noyse of trumpets.

"It.—One on horsebacke, with the cup for St. George, carried upon a septer, in pompe.

"It.—One on horsebacke, with an oration for St. George, in pompe.

"It.—St. George himself on horsebacke, in complete armor, with his flag and buckler, in pompe, and before him a noyse of drums.

"It.—One on horsebacke, called Peace, with an oration, in pompe.

"It.—One on horsebacke, called Plenty, with an oration, in pompe.

"It.—One on horsebacke, called Envy, with an oration, whom Love will comfort, in pompe.

he caused a man to goe upon the spire of St. Peter's steeple, in Chester, and by the fane, at the same time he sownded a drum, and displayed a baner upon the top of the same spire. And this was the original of St. George's race, with the change thereof, as it is now used. Also the said Mr. Robert Amorye caused the jacks or boyes, which strike quarterly at St. Peter's, at High Crosse, to be made and erected in A. D. 1612."

"NOWE OF THE PLAYES OF CHESTER, CALLED THE WHITSUN PLAYES.

"These playes were the worke of one Randall Higden, a monke in Chester-abbey,* whoe in a good devotion

"It.—One on horsebacke, called Love, with an oration to maintaine all, in pompe.

"It.—The maior and his brethren, at the pentes of this citey, with their best apparrell, and in scarlet; and all the orations to be made before him, and scene at the high-crosse, as they passe to the Roodye, when by gent. shall be runne for by their horses; for the two bells on a double staffe, and the cuppe to be runne for at the ryng, in the same place by the gent. and with a greater mater of the shewe by armes, and shott, and with more than I can recyte, with a banquet after in the pentys to make welcome the gent.; and when all is done, then judge what you have scene, and so speake on your mynd, as you fynd—the actor for the presents,

"ROBERT AMORYE."

"Amer is love, and Amorye is his name,
That did begin this pompe and pryncesley game;
The charge is great to him that all begun,
Who now is satisfied to see all so well done."

In 1612, it was ordered, "that the sports and recreations used on St. George's-day, should in future be done by the direction of the mayor and citizens, and not of any private person."

* In the following proclamation among the Harleian MSS. as quoted in the *Magna Britannia*, these plays are attributed to Sir Henry Francis, a monk of St. Werburgh; but a marginal note in another hand, asserts that they were written by Randall Higden, to whom they are generally ascribed. It is probable, that Sir Henry Francis only procured the pardons mentioned in the proclamation. It is said in a note prefixed to a copy of these plays in the British Museum, that Higden was thrice at Rome, before he could obtain leave of the Pope, to have them represented in the English tongue:—

"The proclamation for Whitsun playes, made by William Newall, clerk of the Pentice, 24 Hen. VIII. William Sneed, second time mayor.—

translated the bible into several partes and playes, soe as the common people might learne the same by their playinge; and also by action in their sighte, and the first time they were acted, or played, was in the time of Sir John Arnewaye about the first yeare of his maroltie, aboute A. D. 1328; we must judge this monke had no evil intention, but secret devotion therein; soe also the citizens, that did acte and practise the same, to their great coste. Here I must shew the maner of the performinge these anchant playes, (which was) all those companies and occupations, which were joyned together to acte, or performe their several partes had pageants, which was a building of a great height, with a lower and higher rowme, beinge all open, and set upon power-wheels, and drawne from place to place, where they played. The firste place

—“Forasmuch as of ould tyme, not only for the augmentation and increase of the holy catholic faith of our saviour Jesus Christ, and to exhort the minds of common people to good devotion, and holsome doctrine thereof, but also for the commonweith, and prosperity of this city, a play and declaration of divers storyes of the bible, beginning with the creation and fall of Lucifer, and endinge with the general judgment of the world, to be declared and played in the Whitsen weekes, was devised and made by one Sir Henry Francia, sometyme monke of this monasterys dissolved, who obtayned and got of Clement the bushop of Rome a thousand dayes of pardon, and of the bushop of Chester, at that tyme, forty dayes of pardon, graunted from thenceforth to every person resortinge in peaceable manner with good devotion, to heare and see the said playes from tyme to tyme, as oft as they shall be played within the said cittie (and that every person or persons disturbing the said playes, in any manner-wise, to be accursed by the authority of the sayd pope Clement's bulls, untill such tyme as hee or they be absolved therefrom); which playes were devised to the honor of God, by John Arnway, then maior of this citty of Chester, his brethren, and whole cominalty thereof, to be brought forth, declared, and played at the coste and charges of the craftsmen and occupations of the craftsmen of the said cittie, hitherto have, from tyme to tyme, used and performed the same accordingly: wherefore, Mr. Maior, in the king's name, streaily chargeth, that every person and persons, of what estate, degree or condition so-ever, he or they be, resortynge to the said playes do use themselves peaceable, without making any assault, affray, or other disturbance, whereby the same playes shall be disturbed, and that no manor of person or persons, whosoever he or they be, do use, or weare any unlawful weapons within the precinct of the sayd citty, duringe the tyme of the sayd playes (not only upon payne of cursing by the authority of the sayd pope Clement's bulls), but also upon payne of imprisonment of their bodies, and making fine to the kyng at Mr. Maior's pleasure.”

where they begane, was at the Abbeye-gates, where the monks and churche mighte have the first sighte; and then it was drawne to the high crosse before the mayor and aldermen, and soe from streete to streete, and when one pageant was ended, another came in the place thereof, till all that were appoynted for the daye was ended; thus of the maner of the playes, all beinge at the citizens' charge, yet profitable for them; for all, both far and near, came to see them.

“Now follow what occupations bring forth at their charges the playes of Chester, and on what dayes they are played yearly. These playes were sett forth, when they were played upon Mondaye, Tuesdaye, and Wednesdaye, in the Whitsun-week.

1. “The Barkers and Tanners—bring forth the Falling of Lucifer.
2. Drapers and Hosiers—the Creation of the World.
3. Drawers of Dee and Water-leaders—Noe and his Shippe.
4. Barbers, Wax-chandlers, and Leeches—Abraham and Isacke.
5. Cappers, Wire-drawers, and Pinners—King Balak, and Balam, with Moses.
6. Wrights, Slaters, Tylers, Daubers, and Thatchers—The Nativity of our Lord.
7. Paynters, Brotherers, and Glaziers—The Sheppards' Offering.
8. Vintners and Merchants—King Herod and the Mounte Victorial.
9. Mercers and Spisers—The Three Kings of Colline.

“These nine pagents above written be played on the firste daye.

1. Gouldsmiths and Masons—The Slayinge of the Children by Herod.
2. Smithes, Forbers, and Pewterers—Purification of our Lady.
3. Bouchers—The Pinackle, with the Woman of Canaan.
4. Glovers, and Parchment-makers—The Arisinge of Lazarus from Death to Life.
5. Corvesers and Shoemakers—The Coming of Christe to Jerusalem.
6. Bakers and Millners—Christe's Maundy with his Disciples.
7. Boyers, Flechers, Stringers, Cowpers, and Torners—The Scourginge of Christe.
8. Ironmongers, and Ropers—The Crucifieinge of Christe.
9. Cookes, Tapsters, Hoslers, and Inn-keepers.—The Harrowinge of Hell.

“These nine pagents above written, be played upon the second daye, being Tuesdaye in Whitsun weke.

1. Skynners, Cardmakers, Hatters, Peynters, and Girdlers—The Resurrection.
2. Lers, and Fusters—The Castell of Emmaus, and the Apostles.
3. The Taylors—Ascension of Christs.
4. Fishmongers, Whitsunday—the making of the creed.
5. Shermis—Profetis afore the Day of Dome.
6. Hewsters and Bell-founders—Antichrists.
7. Weavers and Walkers—Domesday.

“These seven pagents above-written, were played upon the thirde daye, being Wensedayes in Whitson weke.”

Archdeacon Rogers concludes his account of these exhibitions with the following observations :—“ These Whitsun playes were played in A. D. 1574, Sir John Savage, knight, being mayor of Chester, which was the laste time they were played, and we praise God, and praye that we see not the like profanation of holy scripture ; but O the mercie of God for the time of our ignorance : God, he regardes it not, as well in every man’s particular, as also in general causes.”

These mysteries were the rude origin of the English theatre. Our drama, as Mr. Warton, in his History of English Poetry remarks, was in early times confined entirely to religious subjects ; and these plays were nothing more than an appendage to the specious and mechanical devotion of the age. The reader is referred to that gentleman’s amusing history of the rise and progress of these performances ; but that he may form his own estimate of their character and merits, I shall present him with a few specimens of the gross and ridiculous exhibitions of the times ; when the auditory listened with the fullest admiration and devotion, as a late writer remarks, to what would at present fill a theatre with laughter from the gay, at the absurdity, or scandalise the serious part, with the (unintentioned) impiety. These plays, which are enumerated, were twenty-five in number. They were performed for above three centuries, to the staring audience, who received the unvaried subject with the same annual pleasure as the Romans did the farces in their days of honest simplicity.

*" The Banes (Prologue) which are reade before the beginninge
of the playes of Chester.*

" Reverende lordes and ladyes all
That at this time here assembled be,
By this message you shall
That sometymes there was mayor of this cite,
Sir John Arnwaye, knyghte, who most worthilye
Contented himselfe to sett out in playe
The devise of one Done Rondall, monke of Chester Abbey.

This moonke, moonke-like, in scriptures well seene
In storyes travilled with the best sorte,
In pagentes set fourth apparently to all eyne
The old and new testament with lively comforth,
Interminglinge therewith only to make sporte
Some things not warranted by any writt;
Which to glad the hearers he would men to take yt.

This matter he abbreviated into playes twenty-foure,
And every play of the matter gave but a taste;
Leaving for better learning the circumstance to accomlishe,
For all his proceedinges maye appeare to be in haste.
Yet all together unprofitable, his labours he did not waste,
For at this day and ever he deserveth the fame
Which all monkes deserves professinge that name.

These storyes of the testamente at this time you knowe,
In a common Englishe never read nor harde;
Yet thereof in these pagentes to make open shewe,
This moonke and moonke was nothing afreayde,
With feare of hanginge, brenninge, or cuttinge off heade,
To set out that all maye diserne and see,
And parte good be lefte believe you mee.

As in this cite divers yeares the have bene sete out,
Soe at this tyme of Pentecoste, called Whitsuntyde,
Although to all the cite follow labour and coste,
Yet God giving leave, that tyme shall you in playe,
For three dayes together, begynnyng on Mondaye,
See these pagentes played to the best of their skill;
Where to supplye all wantes, shall be noe want of goodwill.

As all that shall see them shall most welcome be,
Soe all that here them wee most humble praye
Not to compare this matter or storie
With the age or tyme wherein we presently stay,
But in the tyme of ignorance wherein we did straye;
Then doe I compare that this lande throughout,
Now had the like, nor the like dose sett oute.

If the same belikeinge to the comers all,
 Then our desair is to satisfie, for that is all our gaine;
 Yf no matter or shewe thereof speciall
 Doe not please, but mislike the most of the trayne;
 Goe backe I saye to the first tyme againe;
 Then shall you fynde the fyne witt at this day aboundinge,
 At that day and that age had verye small beinge.

Condempne not our matter where grosse wordes you here,
 Which ymporte at this daye small sence or understandyng,
 As some tyme *poelis lewtie*, in good maner or in feare,
 With such like will be uttered in their speeches speakyng,
 At this tyme those speeches carried good likyng,
 Tho at this tyme, you take them spoken at that tyme,
 As well matter as wordes, then all is well and fyne.

This worthy knyghte Arnwayne, then mayor of this cittie,
 This order toke, as declare to you I shall,
 That by twenty-fower occupations, artes, craftes, or misteries,
 These pageantes should be played after brief rehearsall;
 For every pageante a cariage to be provided withall,
 In which sort we purpose this Whitsontyde,
 Our pageantes into three partes to devyde.

Now you worshipful Tanners that of custom old,
 The fall of *Lucifer* did set out,
 Some writers awarrante your matter—therefore be boulde,
 Lustely to play the same to all the rowtte;
 And yf any therof stande in any doubte,
 Your author his author hath your shewe let be,
 Good speech, fyne players, with apparell comelye."

[Here follow 106 lines of directions to the several companies, mingled with apologies for several exceptionable passages, after which the prologue thus concludes.]

"The Cominge of Christe to give eternal judgmente,
 You Weavers laste of all yout parte is for to playe.
 Domesdaye we calle it, when the Omnipotente,
 Shall make end of this worlde, by sentence I say.
 One on his righte hande to stand, God grant us that daye,
 And to have that sweete worde in melodye,
 Come hether, Come hether, *Venite benedicti*.

To which reste of wayes, and selesstial habitation,
 Grante us free passage, that altogether wee,
 Accompanied with angels, and adlyste delectation,
 Maye continuallye laude God, and prayse that king of glorye."

[The following apologies for exceptionable passages, occur in that part of the prologue which is here omitted.]

"The beirth of Christ shall all see in that stage,
If the scriptures awarrant not the midwives report,
Our author telleth his author, take it in sport.

* * * * *

"See that Gloria in excelsis be song merelye,
Few words in that pageant makes meirth trulye.

* * * * *

"As our belief is that Christe after his passion
Descended into Hell; but what he did in that place,
Though our author set forth after his opinion,
Yet creditt you the best learned: those doth he not disgrace.
We wish that of all sortes the best you imbrace."

Extracts from "Noe and his Ship."

"Then Noe shall goe into the arke with all his familye, his wife except;
the arke must be boirded rounde aboute, and upon the bordes all the beastes
and fowles hereafter rehearsed must be painted, that these wordes may agree
with the pictures."

NOE.

"Wife come in, why standes thou there,
Thou arte ever frewardes I dare well swear.

NOE'S WIFE.

"Yea, Sir, set up your sayle,
And row forth with equall haile,
For withoutten faile I will not cut
Out of this towne;
But I have my gossippes every eich one,
One foote further I will not gone;
They shall not drowne by St. John,
And I maye save there life;
But thou wylt let them into that cheyft,
Else rowe forth, Noe, where thou list,
And get thee a new wife.

THE GOOD GOSSIPPS.

"The flood comes fitting in full fast,
One every side that spreadeth full fast;
For feare of drowning I ame agaste,
Good gossippes let us drawe neare;
And let us drinke, or we departe,
For oft-tymes we have done soe,
For at a draught thou drinkes a quarte,
And soe will I doe or I goe;

HISTORY OF CHESTER.

Here is a pottell full of Malmeseye gode and stronge,
Yt will rejoyce both hart and tonge ;
Though Noe thinke us never so longe,
Yet we will drinke alike.

JAPHAT.

" Mother, we pray you all together,
For we are here, your owne children ;
Come into the shipp, for feare of the weather.

NOE'S WIFFE.

" That will I not, for all your call,
But I have my gossipes all.

SEM.

" In fayth, mother, yet thou shalt,
Whether thou wylt or not.

NOE.

" Welcome, wife, into this boat.

WIFE.

" Have thou that for thy note.

[Gives him a box on the ear.]

NOE.

" Ha ! ha ! marye this is hott,
It is good for to be still ;
A ! children, methinkes my boate remeves,
Our taryng here highly me greeves ;
Over the lande the water spreades,
God doe as he will."

From " King Balack and Balaam," with the Prologue.

" Cappers and linen-drapers, see that you fourth bring
In well decked order, that worthy storee,
Of Balaam and his Asse, and of Balacke the kinge ;
Make the Asse to speake, and set yt out livelye.

ASINA.

" Master, thou doest evill sikerly,
So good an Asse as me to aye ;
Nowe thou hast beaten me here thrye,
That bare thee thus aboute.

BALAAM.

" Burrell, why begylest thou me,
When I have most neede of thee.

ASINA.

“ That sighte that before me I see,
Maketh me downe to lowte ;
Am not I, master, thyn own Asse,
To beare thee whither thou wilt passe,
And many winters ready was,
To smyte me it is shame.
Thou wottest well, master, padye
Thou hadest never non like to me,
Ney, never yet soe served I thee,
Nowe ame I not to blame.”

From “ The Creation of the World.”

“ Then God taketh Adam by the hand, and causeth him to lye downe,
and taketh a rybb out of his side, and sayth,” &c. &c.

“ Then God doth make the woman of the rybb of Adam ; then Adam
wakeing speaketh unto God as followeth :—

ADAM.

“ I see well Lorde, through thy grace,
Bone of my bone thou here mase,
And fleshe of my fleshe she hase ;
And my shape through thy sawe,
Wherefore she shall be called, I wysse,
Virage, nothing amisse,
For out of man taken she is
And to man shall she drawe.

Then Adam and Eve shall stande naked, and shall not be ashamed ;*
then the serpent shall come up out of a hole, and the divill walking, shall say,

“ That of woman is forbidden to doo,
For any thinge they will there too ;
Therefore that tree she shall come to,
And assaye what yt is :
A manner of an edder is in this place,
That winges like a bird she hase,
Fete as an edder, a mayden’s face,
Here kinde I will take :
And of the tree of paradise
She shall eate through my contyse ;
For women they be full licorise,
That will not she forsake.”

* In one of the copies the minstrels are afterwards directed to play, whilst Adam and Eve are adjusting their fig-leaves.

These plays were exhibited several times after the reformation; but they were at this era so generally discountenanced as to fall into disrepute and disuse. There were, besides these *scripture* dramas, others of a *profane* character, which were acted occasionally on special occasions. The Shepherd's Play was acted in St. John's church-yard in 1515; in 1529, the play of Robert Cicell, was performed at the High Cross; on the Sunday after Midsummer-day, 1563, the "History of Æneas and queen Dido" was played on the Rood-eye, set out by one William Crofton, gentleman, and one Mr. Mann, Master of Arts. In 1577, the "Shepherd's Play" was performed before the Earl of Derby at the High-cross, and other triumphs on the Rood-eye. And in 1589, a play was performed at the High-cross, called the story of "Kinge Ebranke with all his sonnes."

BULL BAIT.

Amongst the *sentimental* pastimes of the city from time immemorial, may be reckoned, an annual *bull bait*, the mention of which, however, is omitted by Archdeacon Rogers, as not coming, I suppose, within his definition of "laudable." The time fixed upon for this detestable entertainment was the day upon which the election of the mayor and sheriffs took place, and which always happened during the great Michaelmas fair. One of our Chester annalists, in noticing this exhibition, says, that till within a few years, "the *dramatis personæ* of this *elegant scene* included even magistracy itself, the mayor and corporation attending, in their official habiliments, at the Pentice windows, in front of St. Peter's church, not only to countenance the *diversions* of the ring, but to participate in a sight of its *enjoyments*. A proclamation was also made, by the crier of the court, with all the gravity and solemnity of an oration before a Romish sacrifice; the elegant composition of which run thus:—

‘O yez ! O yez ! O yez ! If any man stands within twenty yards of the bull-ring, let him take—what comes.’ After followed the usual public ejaculation for ‘the safety of the king and the mayor of Chester,’ when the *beauties* of the scene commenced, and the dogs immediately *fell to*. Here a prayer for his worship was not unseasonable, as not even the ermined cloak was security against the carcasses of dead animals, with which spectators, without distinction, were occasionally saluted. I shall not attempt a description of the tender offices practised on these occasions on so noble a creature as the English bull ; one, however, I cannot omit mentioning :—In 1787, an unfortunate animal, smarting under his wounds and fatigue, was very naturally induced to lie down ; the *argument* made use of in this situation, as naturally induced him to get up : his *humane* followers hitting upon the ingenious expedient of setting fire to some straw under his body ; when, it is hardly necessary to add, ‘the wretched animal heaved forth such groans as stretched his leathern coat almost to bursting.’ This circumstance of the fire was, however, no bad satire, emblematically considered, on the transactions of the day—the whole being little better than a—*burning shame*.” The danger and inconvenience of this brutal amusement in the centre of a populous city, and at a time, when crowded with strangers, were too obvious to need illustration. Mr. Hardware, the active and spirited magistrate before-mentioned, not only caused this ancient but mischievous practice to be discontinued in his mayoralty (1599) but with a view to its total suppression, ordered the bull-ring to be taken up. It does not appear that he succeeded in his good intentions beyond his own year of office ; and it was not till the year 1754, in the mayoralty of Mr. William Cowper, that the corporation withdrew their sanction, by absenting themselves from this cruel diversion. In 1776, another effort was made by Mr. Broadhurst, during his mayoralty, to suppress this nuisance, but his utmost exertions proved unavailing ; and the lovers of the sport returned his endeavours to deprive them of it, by forcing the bull into

the row below the Feathers-steps, where his worship resided, and fastening the end of the rope with which the animal was held, to his knocker, drove on the horned victim, which bore away with him in triumph the brazen utensil. It is said, the worthy magistrate was so alarmed at the transaction, that he made a hasty retreat down a passage into Pepper-street, from whence he precipitately fled into the country, nor made a moment's pause until he had secured a safe retreat at the distance of several miles. From this period, no serious attempt appears to have been made to put an end to the bull-bait, until the year 1803, when a clause was introduced into the new police act, by which it was finally suppressed. It is, however, a subject of regret, that there is still, in the immediate vicinity of the city, one of these annual brutal spectacles; it is exhibited on Boughton heath, a spot just without the jurisdiction of the city magistrates, during the wakes; and it is somewhat extraordinary, that the county magistracy have not efficiently interposed to put it down. Although there is no specific statute to interdict the exhibition there, yet upon every such occurrence, violent breaches of the peace are committed; and besides, the act against cruelty to animals sufficiently arms them with authority to commit the participators in these orgies to gaol.

The origin and object of the execution and gable rents in the city, referable to the usage of the local authorities executing the county criminals, will be given in a subsequent part of the work. An account of the ancient procession of the minstrels to the church of St. John, has already been noticed in the biographical sketch of Randal Blundeville, at page 101.



Municipal Government of the City.

It has already been noticed, that from the time of the conquest, at least, the city has enjoyed several distinguished privileges; but there are no documents now known to exist, by which to ascertain the precise time when the office of mayor* began to exist. The first officer under this name, who can be traced with any certainty, is Sir Walter Lynnett, stated in the following list to have commenced his mayoralty in 1247.† Stow, in his Survey of London, fixes the date of 1189 as that when the first mayor was appointed to govern that city, and says, that the person so nominated continued to hold the office for twenty-four years. Admitting the correctness of these computations, the mayoralty of London is but

* The word *mayor* is a word, according to some, derived from the latin *major*, greater, in reference to his pre-eminence as a magistrate within his jurisdiction; or, as others affirm, from the British *meyr*, anciently the honorary distinction of the chief civil officer among the burgesses; from the British word *minet*, signifying *CUSTODIRE*, to keep and preserve the peace, &c. Whilst the old French title of *maire*, such as *Maire du Palais*, one of the ancient great officers of France, offers a more probable, and more natural etymology.

† In Archdeacon Rogers's collection is the following memorandum which gives (if correct) the name of a mayor existing about a century earlier than any of his successors in the office now upon record:—"It appears by an order made at an assembly, dated 26th December, 4th Elis. when Richard Dutton, Esq. was mayor of the city in the reign of k. Henry I. and that during his mayoralty, a byelaw was enacted and made, that no citizens should make any foreign suit, or non-freeman exercise any trade in the city." I do not think this representation is worthy of the slightest credit, as it assumes the existence of the office of mayor, while the constableness of the earldom was in its full vigour, and places it at a period at least 50 years anterior to the creation of the office in London.

fifty-eight years older than that of Chester. The following list of mayors and sheriffs, is believed to be as correct as any that has been published, having had the benefit of the researches of that labourious antiquary, Mr. William Aldersey, the revision of William Richards, Esq. late town-clerk, and the approbation of Dr. Ormerod, who affirms that it has also been collated with several MSS. in the Harleian Library:—

SUCCESSION OF MAYORS, &c.

MAYORS.

SHERIFFS.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|---|
| 1257 | Sir Walter Lynnet . . . | Robert Fitz, Adam Venator. |
| 1258 | The Same | The Same. |
| 1259 | The Same | Stephen Sarasen, Robert le Mercer. |
| 1260 | Walter Coventry . . . | Richard Clerke, Gilbert Marshall. |
| 1261 | Richard Clerke | Richard Apoticary, Robert le Mercer. |
| 1262 | The Same | The Same. |
| 1263 | The Same | Robert le Mercer, Richard Apoticary. |
| 1264 | The Same | Stephen Sarasen, Richard de Rothelent. |
| 1265 | The Same | Oliver de Trafford, Robert de Terven. |
| 1266 | The Same | Oliver de Cotton, Robert de Tervin. |
| 1267 | The Same | William de Hawarden, Oliver de Trafford. |
| 1268 | Sir John Arnewey . . . | The Same. |
| 1269 | The Same | Matthew de Daresbury, Richard de Espicer. |
| 1270 | The Same | Matthew de Daresbury, William Cossine. |
| 1271 | The Same | The Same. |
| 1272 | The Same | William Cossine, Matthew de Daresbury. |
| 1273 | The Same | Robert le Mercer, Richard Apoticary. |
| 1274 | The Same | Adam Godwicke, Richard le Spicer. |
| 1275 | The Same | Randell de Daresbury, Christopher Clerk. |
| 1276 | The Same | Adam Godwicke, Richard Apoticary. |
| 1277 | Randoll de Daresbury | Hugh Moles, Robert Terven. |
| 1278 | The Same | Matthew de Daresbury, Randoll Dobleby. |
| 1279 | The Same | Hugh Moles, Robert Terven. |
| 1280 | Robert le P. Mercer . . | Hugh de Moles, Robert Ernes. |
| 1281 | Robert le Mercer . . . | Alexander Hurell, Robert Ernes. |
| 1282 | Alexander Hurell . . . | Hugh de Moles, Robert de Hole. |
| 1283 | Robert le Mercer . . . | Alexander Hurell, David de Molindinox. |
| 1284 | Robert P. Mercer . . . | Alexander Hurell, Rob. Ithell, or Ulcher. |
| 1285 | Robert de Tervine . . . | The Same. |
| 1286 | The Same | Nicholas Payne, Robert Ernes. |
| 1287 | The Same | The Same. |
| 1288 | Hugh de Moles | Hugh de Brichull, Nicholas Payne. |
| 1289 | Robert de Terven . . . | |

MAYORS.

SHERIFFS.

- 1290 Robert Mercer
- 1291 The Same Robert Ernes, Robert Caudry.
- 1292 Hugh de Brichull.... Nicholas Payne, Roger Dunfole.
- 1293 Robert Mercenat
- 1294 Hugh de Brichull Alexander Hurell, Robert Ithell, or Ulcher.
- 1295 The Same Edward Molindinox, Roger Dunfole.
- 1296 The Same John de Warwick, Robert de Macclesfield.
- 1297 Alexander Hurell ... Andrew Standow, Robert Ithell, or Ulcher.
- 1298 The Same Richard Candline, Robert de Macclesfield.
- 1299 The Same Andrew Standow, Robert Ithell.
- 1300 Hugh de Brichull ... Richard Candline, Robert Ithell.
- 1301 Alexander Hurell ... Richard Candline, Mag. John de Terven.
- 1302 Hugh de Brichull.... Robert Macclesfield, Roger Danfole.
- 1303 The Same Henry de Blackrode, Peter de Brichull.
- 1304 Richard L'Engenour.. Benedict Standon, John Warwick.
- 1305 Hugh de Brichull ... Richard Candline, Peter de Brichull.
- 1306 The Same Gilbert Downfole, Roger le Sparks.
- 1307 The Same William de Brichull, Robert de Macclesfield.
- 1308 Benedict Standon Henry Blackrod, Richard Moales.
- 1309 Hugh Brichull Gilbert Dunfole, Richard de Wheatley.
- 1310 The Same John de Blound, Richard de Wheatley.
- 1311 The Same Robert Macclesfield, Peter de Brichull.
- 1312 The Same William de Doncaster, Richard Russell.
- 1313 Benedict Standon Gilbert de Downfole, William le Peak.
- 1314 John Blound..... Richard le Wood, Richard Wheatley.
- 1315 The Same Richard Russell, Richard Wheatley.
- 1316 William Doncaster .. Richard le Wood, William le Blound.
- 1317 John Blound, *died* } William Clerke, William Mulseton.
Wm. Doncaster, *suc.* }
- 1318 William Doncaster .. Richard de Wheatley, Richard le Bryne.
- 1319 The Same Gilbert de Deunfole, Robert le Strangeways.
- 1320 William Brichull ... John Daresbury, Roger de Blound.
- 1321 John Brichull Gilbert Downfole, Richard Wheatley.
- 1322 The Same Richard Russell, Richard Wheatley.
- 1323 William Clarke..... Roger le Quit, John de Daresbury.
- 1324 Richard Russell..... Richard Wheatley, William Bassingwerk.
- 1325 Richard le Bruyne ... Richard Ernes, Roger Norleigh.
- 1326 The Same Richard Ernes, Roger Sparks.
- 1327 Richard Ernes Roger Macclesfield, Madock de Capinhurst.
- 1328 The Same Warren de Blunte, Roger le Harper.
- 1229 William Brichull ... Henry Hurrell, Madock Capinhurst.
- 1330 The Same Roger del Broughton, Henry Wade.
- 1331 Roger le Blounte William Basinwerke, Roger le Harper.
- 1332 The Same Roger Norleigh, Madock de Capinhurst.
- 1333 Richard de Wheatley.. Madock Capinhurst, John Barra.
- 1334 Roger Blound Daniel Russell, Robert Ledsham.
- 1335 John le Blound..... Henry Terrand, William Kelsall.
- 1336 Roger Blound David Russell, Roger Capinhurst.
- 1337 John Blound..... Henry Hurrell, Madock Capinhurst.

MAYORS.

SHERIFFS.

- 1338 The Same John le Hawarthen, Edmund de Waterfall.
 1339 The Same The Same.
 1340 Robert le Ledsham .. John de Hawarden, John de Stoke.
 1341 Richard Capinhurst .. Madock Capinhurst, Thomas le Holgrave.
 1342 The Same Madock Capinhurst, Richard de Weneflete.
 1343 John Blound William de Doncaster, Richard le Brwyne.
 1344 Richard Capinhurst .. Madock Capinhurst, Bartholomew Norworthen.
 1345 The Same John Barra, William Hadeley.
 1346 Henry Torrand Hugh de Mulvelton, Richard de Ridgley.
 1347 John Blound William de Capinhurst, Richard de Ditton.
 1348 The Same Adam de Wheatley, William Dorwaldsage.
 1349 B. Northerden, *clais* }
 Rich. Bruyne, *suc.* } The Same.
 1350 John Blound William de Huxley, Stephen de Kelsall.
 1351 The Same Robert de Castle, John le Quite.
 1352 The Same Thomas Wise, Adam del Hope.
 1353 Richard le Bruyne.... William Brassey, Adam Ingram.
 1354 The Same William Brassey, Roger Ledsham.
 1355 John Blende Benedict de Rigley, Hamon de Dersbury.
 1356 The Same Alexander Belleter, John Collie.
 1357 The Same William de Beaumaris, Thomas de Aplton.
 1358 The Same John Collie, William de Muckleton.
 1359 Alan de Wheatley.... John Degnold, Henry Walch.
 1360 The Same Henry Done, Hugh de Stretton.
 1361 The Same William de Harley, Thomas Peacock.
 1362 The Same Richard Manleigh, Jeffrey Flint.
 1363 Roger Ledsham..... John Collie, William Brerewast.
 1364 The Same David de Eulow, John de Cotton.
 1365 John Dalby Robert Fox, Henry Staple.
 1366 The Same John Chamberlain, William del Hope.
 1367 Richard le Bruen ... Nicholas de Troughfield, Richard de Hawarden.
 1368 The Same John le Armerer, William Danson.
 1369 John Whitmore Thomas Done, John Dernever.
 1370 The Same Thomas del Fey, Richard Dounfole.
 1371 The Same Ralph Thropp, Robert Collie.
 1372 The Same Robert del Broughton, Richard de Birkenhead.
 1373 Alexander Belleter .. Robert le Marshall, Hugh de Dutton.
 1374 Richard Bruyne William Bradburn, William Savage.
 1375 Richard Downfole .. Robert Collie, Hugh Dutton.
 1376 The Same John Barber, John Bebindon.
 1377 Thomas Bradford Thomas de Apulton, John le Armerer.
 1378 The Same Roger Potter, Stephen Carley.
 1379 John Chamberlain Roger Potter, Ralph Hatton.
 1380 The Same John Hatton, Gilbert de Billitin.
 1381 David de Ewlowe John Collie, William de Barton.
 1382 The Same Roger de Ditton, Richard de Hewster.
 1383 The Same Roger de Ditton, Robert Lancelin.
 1384 John Chamberlain Thomas Dod, John Preston.
 1385 The same, *died*..... John Delwych, Richard Strangeways.

MAYORS.

SHERIFFS.

- 1386 John Armerer John de Moseley, William Blackrode.
 1387 The Same Henry Yate, John del Hall.
 1388 The Same Thomas Hurell, John Hawe.
 1389 Ralph Marshall Ralph de Polton, John de Madeley.
 1390 John Armerer Ralph Hatton, John de Bebington.
 1391 Gilbert Trussell Robert Dargell, Roger le Potter.
 1392 The Same Robert Lancelin, John de Preston.
 1393 John Armerer Richard le Hewater, Thomas Piggot.
 1394 The Same .. Hugh de Ditton, Roger de Ditton.
 1395 John Capinhurst Roger Ditton, William Preston.
 1396 The Same John Madeley, William Heath.
 1397 The Same Richard Strangeways, John Hawarden.
 1398 The Same John de Hawarden, Richard Stalemon.
 1399 The Same John Hawarden, Robert Bradley.
 1400 John Bebington William Heath, Richard Stalmon.
 1401 The Same, *died*.... } John Harden, Thomas Acton, *died*,
 John Marshall, *suc.* } John Arrow, *suc.*
 1402 Roger Porter Innocent Chesterfield, William Kempe.
 1403 Ralph Hatton John Hall, John Arrow.
 1404 John Preston William Ratchdale, Thomas Allen.
 1405 John Ewlowe Robert Chamberlaine, John Hatton.
 1406 The Same John Hatton, Thomas Cottingham.
 1407 The Same John Walsh, Ellis Trevor.
 1408 The Same John Walsh, Hugh Multon.
 1409 The Same, *removed* }
 Sir W. Brereton made } John Tarpurleigh, Hugh Multon.
 Governor of the city }
 1410 Roger Potter John Brown, Ellis Trevor.
 1411 John Walsh William del Hope, Richard Hatton.
 1412 John Whitmore John del Hope, Hugh de Milton.
 1413 The Same John del Hope, Richard le Spicer.
 1414 The Same John del Hope, John Overton.
 1415 John Walsh John de Hatton, Robert del Hope.
 1416 John de Hawarden .. John Hatton, Richard Spicer.
 1417 John Horton Robert Hall, Thomas Cliffe.
 1418 William Hawarden .. Alexander Henbury, John Bradley.
 1419 John Hope Robert Hall, Stephen Belleter.
 1420 The Same William Malpas, Nicholas Wyrvin.
 1421 The Same Richard Massey, William Malpas.
 1422 John Walsh Robert Hewster, Nicholas Russell.
 1423 John Hatton Hugh Woodcock, Richard Weston.
 1424 John Hope Richard Massey, Adam de Wotton.
 1425 The Same Richard Massey, William Stanneer.
 1426 The Same Roger de Walsall, Thomas de Wotton.
 1427 John Hope Thomas Madeley, John Flint.
 1428 John Bradley William Holme, Thomas Bradford.
 1429 John Walsh Edward Skinner, Hugh Green.
 1430 Robert Hope John Freeman, Richard Hankey.
 1431 Richard Massey John Pilkenton, Richard Vynkers.

MAYORS.

SHERIFFS.

- 1432 The Same Thomas Walley, David Skinner.
 1433 Thomas Wotton William Rogerson, Hugh Hickling.
 1434 Adam Wotton Bartholomew Bysalton, Thomas Hamon.
 1435 John Walsh John Cottingham, Robert Eaton.
 1436 William Stamner John Minor, John Layott.
 1437 Richard Massey John Flint, Thomas Wood.
 1438 Richard Westyn John Coupland, Thomas Clerke.
 1439 Nicholas Danyll Robert Gill, Peter Savage.
 1440 John Pilkenton Henry Willaston, William Massey.
 1441 Hugh Woodcock Thomas Lyly, Hugh Neal.
 1442 John Flint Philip Hewster, Robert Walley.
 1443 Nicholas Danyell Jenkine Lowther, John Rathley.
 1444 The Same The Same.
 1445 The Same Richard Barow, William Barker.
 1446 Edward Skinner Rowline Hunt, Richard Ethills.
 1447 The Same—*died*.... }
 Wm. Rogers—*suc*.. } Jenkin ap William, Roger Ledsham.
 1448 William Rogers John Yardley, Robert Bryne.
 1449 William Massey John Southworth, Henry Hernae.
 1450 William Whitmore .. Richard Hawarden, James Hurleston.
 1451 J. D. Hatton Richard Massey, Richard Raynford.
 1452 William Stamner Robert Rogers, Thomas Garrat.
 1453 Nicholas Daniel Rawlin Marshall, Jenkin Trafford.
 1454 The Same John Barrow, John Grosvenor.
 1455 Jenkin Cottingham .. Thomas Kent, William Hankey.
 1456 The Same Jenkin Roncorn, Richard Bower.
 1457 Nicholas Danyell Richard Buckley, William Trickett.
 1458 The Same Thomas Macclesfield, Robert Acton.
 1459 John Southworth William Lilly, Nicholas Macclesfield.
 1460 The Same Roger Warmisham, Henry Day.
 1461 David Ferrer Thomas Cottingham, John Chamberlaine.
 1462 Robert Brown } John Goldsmith,
 } Hugh Frere, *died*, William Gough, *suc*.
 1463 Robert Rogers John Spencer, Alen Stanney.
 1464 Roger Ledsham Richard Green, William Runcorn.
 1465 Richard Rainford James Norris, John Fenton.
 1466 William Lilley William Rawson, William Thomason.
 1467 John Southworth William Sharman, Richard Sharp.
 1468 John Dedwood Richard Garratt, Robert Nottrevill.
 1469 Thomas Kent John Smith, Henry Ball.
 1470 Thomas Cottingham .. Thomas Fernes, William Richmond.
 1471 Robert Rogers Henry Port, Richard Harper.
 1472 John Spencer John Elvas, Nicholas Hopkin.
 1473 William Whitmore .. John Barrow, William Snead.
 1474 John Southworth Roger Hurleston, Robert Walley.
 1475 The Same Richard Smith, Thomas Eccles.
 1476 Hugh Massey Henry Warmisham, Roger Lightfoot.
 1477 John Southworth George Bulkley, Thomas Hurleston.
 1478 Robert Nottrevill Robert Ellesweek, John Macclesfield.

MAYORS.

SHERIFFS.

- 1479 William Snead Robert Walker, Matthew Johnson.
 1480 John Southworth Ralph Davenport, William Heywood.
 1481 Roger Hurleston John Dedwood, Henry Francis.
 1482 The Same Roger Taylor, Roger Burgess.
 1483 John Dedwood Peter Smith, John Runcorn.
 1484 Sir J. Savage John Norres, Hugh Hurleston.
 1485 The Same Thomas Barrow, Richard Gardner.
 1486 Henry Port { Randal Sparrow,
 Henry Harpur—*died*, Richard Spencer, *suc*.
 1487 Hugh Hurdleston Randal Sparrow, Nicholas Lowker.
 1488 George Bulkley Thomas Bunbury, Robert Barrow.
 1489 Ralph Davenport John Cliffe, Thomas Monninge.
 1490 John Barrow Richard Wright, Richard Worrall.
 1491 Randal Sparrow Edmund Farrington, Richard Hockenel.
 1492 Roger Hurleston Richard Goodman, Richard Barker.
 1493 Ralph Davenport Ralph Manley, Richard Grosvenor.
 1494 George Bulkley Henry Balfourt, John Walley.
 1495 Richard Worrall Nicholas Newhouse, Randal Smith.
 1496 Thomas Barrow Thomas Smith, Tudor ap Thomas.
 1497 Thomas Ferrar John Grimsedich, Ralph Eaton.
 1498 Richard Goodman Richard Fletcher, Thomas Thornton.
 1499 John Cliffe Roger Smith, John Walley.
 1500 Thomas Ferrer James Manley, Richard Walton.
 1501 Ralph Davenport ... William Rogerson, Richard Lowe.
 1502 Richard Wright William Ball, Thomas Gylle.
 1503 Richard Goodman John Tatton, John Rathbone.
 1504 Thomas Smith Thomas Harden, William Snead.
 1505 Thomas Thornton ... Hamnet Goodman, John Bradfield.
 1506 Thomas Barrow Robert Barrow, Hamnet Johnson.
 1507 Richard Worrall John Harpur, Robert Golborn.
 1508 Thomas Harden Edward Smith, William Davison.
 1509 Richard Wright Thomas Crook, Richard Brewster.
 1510 William Rogers Thomas Haughton, Henry Radford.
 1511 Thomas Smith Hugh Clerke, Charles Eaton.
 1512 Piers Dutton Thomas Middleton, David Middleton.
 1513 The Same John Brickdale, Robert Aldersey.
 1514 The Same, said by
 some to have been un-
 duly elected, & super-
 seded by Jn Rathbone } William Hurdleston, John Looker, said to have
 been superseded by William Goodman, and
 Richard Grimsedich.
 1515 Thomas Smith Thomas Smith, jun. Robert Wright.
 1516 William Snead Hugh Aldersey, Randal Done.
 1517 William Davison ... William Offley, Nicholas Johnson.
 1518 Thomas Barrow... Piers Smith, Robert Middleton.
 1519 John Rathbone John ap Griffith, Richard Anyon.
 1520 Thomas Smith Thomas Golborn, Christopher Warmisham.
 1521 The Same Ralph Rogerson, Thomas Bamvill.
 1522 William Davison Roger Barrewe, John Woodward.
 1523 David Middleton Roger Pike, Stephen Cross.

MAYORS.

SHERIFFS.

- 1524 R. Golborn.....Richard Evance, John Dimcock.
 1525 Richard AlderseyJohn Walley, Henry Eaton.
 1526 Robert BarrowHenry Davenport, Foulk Dutton.
 1527 Thomas SmithThomas Hall, Henry Gee.
 1528 Hugh AlderseyEdward Davenport, Robert Barton.
 1529 Henry Bradford.....Thomas Rogerson, Ralph Goodman.
 1530 Thomas SmithLawrence Dutton, William Massey.
 1531 William Sneyde.....Robert Brerewood, Thomas Barrow.
 1532 William Goodman...William Beswick, Richard Hunter.
 1533 Henry Gee.....Randal Mainwaring, Hugh Hankey.
 1534 Ralph Rogers.....John Thornton, Thomas Martin.
 1535 Sir Thomas Smith...Robert Walley, Richard Wrench.
 1536 William Goodman...George Leeche, George Lightfoot.
 1537 Foulk DuttonWilliam Glaseor, Ro. Whitehead.
 1538 David Middleton ...Thomas Aldersey, Richard Dixon.
 1539 Henry Gee.....William Aldersey, William Whiteleg.
 1540 Lawrence Smith ...John Smith, Thomas Langley.
 1541 Hugh Aldersey } Richard Snead—*died*, Ra. Aldersey—*suc.*
 } Randal Bamville.
 1542 William BeswickAdam Goodman, Edmund Gee.
 1543 William SneadeRalph Radford, John Roseengreave.
 1544 Robert BartonWilliam Leech, John Offley.
 1545 Wm. Holcroft—*died* }
 John Walley—*suc.* } Richard Pool, Richard Grimsdich.
 1546 Hugh Aldersey—*died* }
 John Smith—*suc.*... } William Bird, Thomas Smith.
 1547 Ralph GoodmanRichard Rathbone, Thomas Bavand.
 1548 Foulk DuttonJohn Webster, Robert Jones.
 1549 Thomas Aldersey ..Richard Massey, Morris Williams.
 1550 Edmund Gee—*died* }
 Wm. Goodman—*suc.* } Ralph Goodman, Peers Street.
 1551 William Glasier.....Ralph Rogers, Thomas Green.
 1552 Thomas SmithThomas Saunders, W. Brounksbank.
 1553 John OffleyHenry Hardware, William Ball.
 1554 Foulk Dutton.....Robert Amery, John Cooper.
 1555 John SmithThomas Weddrall, John Rice.
 1556 John WebsterJohn Hankey, Thomas Bellin.
 1557 William Bird.....John Newall, Thomas Burges.
 1558 Sir Lawrence Smith ..John Yerworth, William Jewet.
 1559 Henry Hardware ...Christopher Morvill, Simon Mounford.
 1560 William AlderseyRobert Derhurst, Richard Boydell.
 1561 Joseph CowperRichard Dutton, Thomas Pillon.
 1562 Randal Bamvill.....William Hamnett, John Harvey.
 1563 Sir Lawrence Smith ..Hugh Rogers, Gilbert Knowles.
 1564 Richard Pool ..Henry Leech, Ev. de Necett.
 1565 Thomas GreenRichard Thompson, William Dod.
 1566 Sir W. Snead.....William Bird, Robert Brerewood.
 1567 Richard Dutton.....Edward Martin, Oliver Smith.
 1568 William Ball.....Edward Hanner, Roger Ley.

MAYORS.

SHERIFFS.

- 1569 Sir J. Savage.....Richard Massey, P. Litherland.
 1570 Sir Lawrence Smith ..John Middleton, William Styles.
 1571 John Hankey.....Richard Bavand, William Wall.
 1572 Roger Ley.....Richard Wright, Robert Hill.
 1573 Richard Dutton.....William Massey, Paul Chantrell.
 1574 Sir J. Savage....John Allen, William Goodman.
 1575 Henry Hardware....William Golborne, David Dimmeck.
 1576 John Harvey.....John Lyneall, John Barnes.
 1577 Thomas Bellin.....Valentine Broughton, John Tiltstone.
 1578 William Jewet.....David Mounford, Randal Leech.
 1579 Wm. Goodman—*died* } Robert Brooke, David Lloyd.
 Hugh Rogers—*suc.* }
 1580 William Bird.....Richard Bird, William Cotgreave.
 1581 Richard Bavand....Robert Wall, John Fitton.
 1582 William Styles.....Thomas Cooper, Richard Raybourne.
 1583 Robert Brerewood.. { Thomas Fletcher,
 William Mutton—*died*, Nicholas Massey, *suc.*
 1584 Valentine Broughton..William Aldersey, Henry Anien.
 1585 Edmund Gamul.....Thomas Tatlow, Thomas Lyaker.
 1586 William Wall.....Robert Amery, Richard Knap.
 1587 Robert Brerewood...Thomas Harebetch, John Williams.
 1588 Rob. Brooke—*died*.. } Richard Spencer, William Meo.
 Wm. Hamnet—*suc.* }
 1589 William Cotgreave ..Thurston Holinshead, Godfrey Wynne.
 1590 William Massey....John Ratcliffe, John Weldon.
 1591 Thomas Lyneall.....Ralph Allen, Richard Broster.
 1592 John Fitton.....Peter Newell, John Sife.
 1593 David Lloyd.....John Littler, John Francis.
 1594 Foulk Aldersey.....William Knight, Henry Hammet.
 1595 William Aldersey....Philip Philips, William Leicester.
 1596 Thomas Smith.....John Aldersey, Rowland Barnes.
 1597 Sir J. Savage—*died* } William Throppe, Robert Fletcher.
 Tho. Fletcher—*suc.* }
 1598 Richard Rathbone...John Brerewood, Lewis Roberts.
 1599 Henry Hardware....John Owen, John Moyle.
 1600 Rob. Brerewood—*died* } Edward Button,
 Rich. Bavand—*suc.* } Edward Bennett—*died*, Thomas Wright—*suc.*
 1601 John Ratcliffe.....John Ratcliffe, jun. Owen Harris.
 1602 Hugh Glaseor.....William Gamul, William Johnson.
 1603 John Aldersey.....William Aldersey, William Manning.
 1604 Edward Dutton.....Thomas Revington, Kenrick ap Evan.
 1605 John Littler.....Thomas Harvey, Robert Blease.
 1606 Philip Philips.....Thomas Throppe, Richard Fletcher.
 1607 Sir J. Savage.....Robert Whitby, George Brooks.
 1608 William Gamul.....Edward Kitchen, Robert Amery.
 1609 William Lester.....Charles Fitton, George Harper.
 1610 Thomas Harvey....Hugh Williamson, John Throppe.
 1611 John Ratcliffe.....Nicholas Ince, Robert Fletcher.
 1612 Robert Whitby.....Thomas Whitby, Peter Drinkwater.
 1613 Wm. Aldersey, jun...Edward Bathoe, Thomas Percival.

MAYORS.

SHERIFFS.

- 1614 Wm. Aldersey, sen. ... Richard Aldersey, Robert Bennett.
 1615 Thomas Throppe Randle Holme, Thomas Weston.
 1616 Edward Button { Thomas Sutton—died, Thomas Bird—suc.
 John Cook.
 1617 Charles Fitton Foulk Salisbury, Gilbert Eaton.
 1618 Sir R. Manwaring John Brereton, Robert Bery.
 1619 Hugh Williamson Charles Walley, Thomas Ince.
 1620 William Gamul Humphrey Lloyd, William Spark.
 1621 Robert Whitehead... William Allen, Richard Bridges.
 1622 Sir Thomas Smith John Williams, Hugh Quicksted.
 1623 Joseph Brereton Christopher Blease, William Fisher.
 1624 Peter Drinkwater Thomas Knowles, William Glegg.
 1625 Sir R. Manwaring Robert Sproson, Robert Harvey.
 1626 Nicholas Ince Richard Bennett, Thomas Humphreys.
 1627 Richard Dutton William Edwards, Thomas Aldersey.
 1628 John Ratcliffe Richard Lester, John Leeche.
 1629 Christopher Blease.. { John Aldersey,
 W. Higginson—died, Robert Ince, suc.
 1630 Charles Walley Thomas Throppe, Thomas Cowper.
 1631 Wm. Allen—died .. } Richard Broster, William Jones.
 Thomas Bird—suc. }
 1632 William Sparke William Parnell, Robert Wright.
 1633 Randle Holme Randle Holme, Richard Bird.
 1634 Francis Gamull . . } William Jones,
 Thomas Eaton—died, Edward Evans—suc.
 1635 Thomas Knowles Thomas Crosse, Calvin Bruen.
 1636 William Edwards Edward Bradshaw, Owen Hughes.
 1637 Thomas Throppe Thomas Weston, William Wilcock.
 1638 Robert Sproston Phillip Sproston, William Drinkwater.
 1639 Robert Harvey Richard Bradshaw, Ralph Hulton.
 1640 Thomas Aldersey John Whittle, Edward Hulton.
 1641 Thomas Cowper Thomas Mottershead, Hugh Leigh.
 1642 William Ince William Crompton, John Johnson.
 1643 Randal Holme, jun. . William Whittell, William Bennett.
 1644 Charles Walley { Humphrey Phillips,
 Rafe Davies—died, Randal Richardson—suc.
 1645 No election of City Officers this year.
 1646 William Edwards John Wynne, Richard Sproson.
 1647 Robert Wright—died } William Wright, Richard Minshall.
 Edw. Bradshaw—suc. }
 1648 Richard Bradshaw Jonathan Ridge, Gerrard Johnes.
 1649 William Crompton... Thomas Parnell, Robert Capper.
 1650 Richard Leycester ... John Anderson, Thomas Heath.
 1651 Owen Hughes—died } Thomas Harris, Hugh Mason.
 John Johnson—suc. }
 1652 William Bennett William Wilson, Richard Townshend.
 1653 Edward Bradshaw.... Daniel Greatbach, Charles Farrington.
 1654 Richard Byrd Arthur Walley, John Griffith.
 1655 William Wright..... John Witter, John Pool.
 1656 Peter Leigh..... Thomas Robinson, Ra. Burroughs.

MAYORS.

SHERIFFS.

- 1657 Thomas Minshull William Street, William Bustowe.
 1658 Thomas Hand—*died* } William Heywood, Randal Oulton.
 Gerrard Jones—*suc.* }
 1659 John Johnson..... Thomas Wilcock, John Knowles.
 1660 Arthur Walley Richard Taylor, Randal Bennett.
 1661 Thomas Throp Richard Harrison, John Hulton.
 1662 Richard Broster John Maddocks, William King.
 1663 John Pool Charles Liensly, Edward Kingsey.
 1664 Richard Taylor Robert Murray, Richard Key.
 1665 Randal Oulton Gawen Hudson, Richard Annion.
 1666 William Street Henry Lloyd, William Warrington.
 1667 Richard Harrison William Harvey, Robert Caddock.
 1668 Charles Earl Derby .. Richard Wright, John Young.
 1669 Robert Murray Thomas Simpson, Owen Ellis.
 1670 Thomas Wilcock William Wilme, Thomas Billington.
 1671 William Wilson .. { Robert Townsend—*died*, William Wilson—*suc.*
 } Thomas Ashton.
 1672 Gawen Hudson George Manwaring, Benjamin Critchley.
 1673 Thomas Simpson William Ince, Peter Edwards.
 1674 Richard Wright..... Edward Oulton, Isaac Swift.
 1675 Henry Lloyd Nathaniel Williamson, Thomas Wright.
 1676 John Young—*died* } Thomas Baker, Robert Shone.
 Jn. Maddocks—*suc.* }
 1677 William Ince Thomas Hand, John Mottershead.
 1678 William Harvey Hugh Starkey Robert Fletcher.
 1679 William Wilme..... Ralph Burrows, Francis Skellerne.
 1680 John Anderson John Taylor, William Starkey.
 1681 George Manwaring.... William Allen, Henry Bennett.
 1682 Peter Edwards..... Robert Hewitt, William Bennett.
 1683 William Street John Wilme, Robert Murray.
 1684 Sir Thomas Grosvenor Richard Harrison, John Johnson.
 1685 William Wilson..... Randal Turner, Richard Oulton.
 1686 Edward Oulton P. Partington, Nathaniel Anderton.
 1687 Hugh Starkey..... Edward Starkey, Jonathan Whitby.
 1688 William Street Robert Murray, John Goulborn.
 1689 Francis Skellerne Edward Partington, Randal Bathoe.
 1690 Nathaniel Williamson John Warrington, Robert Dentith.
 1691 Hen. El. of Warrington Thomas Maddecks, Michael Johnson.
 1692 Roger Whitley Joseph Maddocks, John Burrows.
 1693 The Same Thomas Hand, John Kinaston.
 1694 The Same..... Arthur Bolland, Thomas Bolland.
 1695 The Same..... Timothy Dean, John Holland.
 1696 Peter Bennett James Manwaring, Owen Ellis.
 1697 William Allen Peter Edwards, William Francis.
 1698 Henry Bennett Thomas Parnel, Thomas Wright.
 1699 William Bennett Edward Puleston, John Bradshaw.
 1700 Rich. Oulton—*died* } Humphrey Page, Thomas Bowker.
 Hugh Starkey—*suc.* }
 1701 Thomas Hand,.... William Allen, William Coker.

MAYORS.

SHERIFFS.

- 1702 William Earl of Der-)
by—*died Nov. 5....* } John Minshull, Thomas Partington.
Mich Johnson—*suc.* }
- 1703 Nathaniel Anderton .. George Bennion, John Thomasen.
1704 Edward Partington... Daniel Peck, Thomas Houghton.
1705 Edward Puleston John Stringer, Randal Holme.
1706 P. Partington Thomas Davies, Francis Sayer.
1707 Humphrey Page..... Thomas Williams, Joseph Hodgson.
1708 James Mainwaring.... Ja. Comberbach, Alexander Denton.
1709 William Allen..... Henry Bennett, Randal Bingley.
1710 Thomas Partington .. Hugh Colley, Edward Burroughs.
1711 John Minshull Thomas Edwards, Thomas Wilson.
1712 John Thomasen Robert Crosby, Lawrence Gother.
1713 John Stringer John Parker, Thomas Bolland.
1714 Francis Sayer John Parker, Peter Leadbeater.
1715 Sir Rich. Grosvenor .. William Hughes, Thomas Brooke.
1716 Henry Bennett John Pemberton, James Johnson.
1717 Joseph Hodgson..... Trafford Massie, George Johnson.
1718 Alexander Denton Thomas Williams, Peter Ellames.
1719 Randle Bingley { William Johnson—*died*, Thomas Chalton—*suc.*
Thomas Bridge.
- 1720 Thomas Edwards Roger Massey, John Cotgreave.
1721 Thomas Wilson..... Nathaniel Wright, Thomas Hiccock.
1722 Lawrence Gother..... John Marsden, Thomas Duke.
1723 Robert Pigot Peter Perry, Charles Bingley.
1724 John Parker Edward Twambrook, Samuel Jarvis.
1725 Thomas Bolland..... Edmund Parker, Arthur Mercer.
1726 John Parker..... James Burroughs, Thomas Davies.
1727 James Comberbach .. Thomas Maddock, Thomas Gother.
1728 William Hughes Joseph Parker, Randal Bingley.
1729 Thomas Brooke John Francis, Thomas Ravenscroft.
1730 John Pemberton..... Andrew Duke, George Fernell.
1731 Trafford Massie Henry Ridley, Edward Yeardaley.
1732 George Johnson Edward Nichols, William Edwards.
1733 Peter Ellames..... Charles Mytten, Robert Holland.
1734 Roger Massey..... Edward Griffith, Francis Bassano.
1735 John Cotgreave William Spend, Peter Potter.
1736 Sir W. W. Wynn Thomas Bingley, John Hallwood.
1737 Sir Robert Grosvenor.. Ralph Probert, Thomas Broster.
1738 Nathaniel Wright ... John Dica, John Snow.
1739 John Marsden..... Henry Pemberton, William Viser.
1740 Thomas Duke..... William Smith, Edmund Bolland.
1741 Charles Bingley Edward Partington, Benjamin Perryn.
1742 Samuel Jarvis..... { Robert Cawley—*died*, William Cowper—*suc.*
John Page.
- 1743 Thomas Davies Benjamin Maddock, John Egerton.
1744 Thomas Maddock Peter Dewsbury, Richard Richardson.
1745 Henry Ridley George Griffiths, Thomas Massey.
1746 Edw. Yeardaley—*died* } Robert Maddock, Thomas Bridge.
Edw. Nichols—*suc.* }

MAYORS.

SHERIFFS.

- 1747 William Edwards Thomas Cotgreave, Edward Walley.
 1748 Edward Griffith John Lawton, Peter Ellames.
 1749 Thomas Bingley Charles Parry, Henry Hesketh.
 1750 John Hallwood John Dicas, Holmes Burrows.
 1751 Ralph Probert { John Hickcock,
 James Briscoe—*died*, John Bridge—*suc.*
 1752 Thomas Broster Edward Burrows, Thomas Hart.
 1753 Edmund Bolland ... Richard Ollerhead, Richard Ledsham.
 1754 Dr. William Cowper.. Thomas Astle, John Kelsall.
 1755 John Page Charles Boswell, Joseph Wilkinson.
 1756 Peter Dewsbury John Johnson, George French.
 1757 Richard Richardson .. Thomas Craven, Robert Lloyd.
 1758 Thomas Cotgreave.... Thomas Randles, John Lawton.
 1759 Sir Rich. Grosvenor .. Thomas Slaughter, Peter Morgan.
 1760 Thomas Grosvenor.... Thomas Marsden, Samuel Dob.
 1761 Thos. Cholmondeley .. Joseph Dyson, Joseph Crewe.
 1762 Henry Hesketh William Dicas, John Drake.
 1763 Holmes Burrows Thomas Griffith, John Thomas.
 1764 Edward Burrows James Broadhurst, Francis Walley.
 1765 Richard Ollerhead Daniel Smith, John Hart.
 1766 Thomas Astle Thomas Bowers, William Sellar.
 1767 John Kelsall Robert Williams, Gabriel Smith.
 1768 Charles Boswell Joseph Snow, Pattison Ellames.
 1769 George French Thomas Powell, Thomas Amery.
 1770 John Lawton Henry Hegg, John Bennett.
 1771 Henry Vigers J. D. Griffith, Thomas Edwards.
 1772 Joseph Crewe John Hallwood, Thomas Lee.
 1773 Sir W. W. Wynn .. { Edward Orme,
 William Turner—*died*, T. Roberts, *suc.*
 1774 Joseph Dyson Richard Ledsham, William Corles.
 1775 Thomas Griffith Thomas Patton, John Chamberlain.
 1776 James Broadhurst John Monk, Peter Broster.
 1777 John Hart John Wright, George Johnson.
 1778 William Sellar Thomas Richards, Charles Francis.
 1779 Gabriel Smith William Birch, George Bingley.
 1780 Joseph Snow William Harrison, Thomas Barnes.
 1781 Pattison Ellames Rowland Jones, John Bramwell.
 1782 Thomas Patton Joseph Turner, Samuel Bromfield.
 1783 Thomas Amery Cotton Probert, Daniel Smith.
 1784 Henry Hegg John Meacock, Richard Richardson.
 1785 John Bennett John Larden, Thomas Jones.
 1786 Thomas Edwards Charles Pantton, Edmund Bushell.
 1787 John Hallwood Nathaniel Dewsbury, William Edwards.
 1788 John Leigh Andrew Davison, Thomas Bennion.
 1789 R. H. Vaughan { Robert Whittell,
 Joseph Wright—*died*, John Troughton—*suc.*
 1790 Thomas Powell Thomas Rathbone, John Hassall.
 1791 Peter Broster Roger Dutton, Thomas Jenkins.
 1792 John Wright John Johnson, Peter Wilkinson.

MAYORS.

SHERIFFS.

- 1793 Thomas Richards William Seller, John Thomas.
 1794 George Bingley Samuel Barnes, William Newell.
 1795 William Harrison Thomas Evans, Robert Brittain.
 1796 Thomas Barnes Francis Woods, John Bakewell.
 1797 Rowland Jones Thomas Griffith, John Webster.
 1798 John Bramwell Robert Bowers, Samuel Bennett.
 1799 Daniel Smith John Bedward, John Harrison.
 1800 John Meacock John Cotgreave, Robert Williams.
 1801 John Larden Joseph Bage, Thomas Francis.
 1802 Robert Hodgson Henry Bowers, Thomas Bradford.
 1803 Edmund Bushell John Tomlinson, Thomas Richards.
 1804 William Edwards John Powell, John Williamson.
 1805 Thomas Bennion Thomas Poole, John Swarbrick Rogers.
 1806 Thomas Rathbone Timothy Whitby, James Bennett.
 1807 Robt. Earl Grosvenor.. Joseph Johnson, J. S. Hughes.
 1808 William Newell Joseph Hornby, William Courtney.
 1809 Thomas Evans William Massey, Joseph Grace.
 1810 General T. Grosvenor William Moss, Robert Morris.
 1811 Robert Bowers George Harrison, James Snape.
 1812 Samuel Bennett Josiah Thomas, Samuel Nevitt Bennett.
 1813 Sir W. W. Wynn John Fletcher, George Hastings.
 1814 John Bedward Thomas Dixon, Titus Chaloner.
 1815 John Cotgreave* Richard Buckley, George Harrison.
 1816 Thomas Francis Thomas Bagnall, William Gaman.
 1817 Henry Bowers John Mellor, Thomas Whittell.
 1818 Thomas Bradford Charles Dutton, John Dodd.
 1819 John Williamson George Wildig, William Sefton.
 1820 William Seller Francis Massey, William Cross.
 1821 John S. Rogers John Johnson, John Gardner.
 1822 William Massey William Davenport, Edward Ducker.
 1823 Robert Morris Jonathan Colley, George Walker.
 1824 George Harrison John Harrison, Robert Shearing.
 1825 John Fletcher { Wilkinson Grace,
 William Bevin—*died*, Simeon Leet—*suc.*
 1826 John Larden and Thomas Francis.... } George Brydges Granville, Gabriel Roberts.
 1827 Henry Bowers John Walker, Edward Titley.
 1828 Robert Morris Thomas Bowers, George Allender.
 1829 William Moss John Parry, Thomas Whittakers.

* Knighted during his mayoralty, on the occasion of presenting a congratulatory address on the marriage of the Princess Charlotte.

CATALOGUE OF THE RECORDERS OF CHESTER.

1. Ralph Birkenhead was the first Recorder of Chester, by virtue of the charter of 21st Henry VII. 1506, was youngest son of Adam Birkenhead of Huxley, and according to the Cheshire pedigrees, received the honour of knighthood.

2. Richard Sneyd was recorder, 1512, 10th Hen. VIII. from whom the Sneyds of Bradwell and Keels in Staffordshire are descended. He was one of the representatives of the city in four successive parliaments.

3. Raufe Wrine, son of William Wrine, succeeded recorder 1535, 27th Hen. VIII.

4. William Gerard, mentioned as recorder 5th and 16th Eliz. 1563 and 1574. He was made chancellor of Ireland, died in May 1580, and was buried in the cathedral of St. Werburgh, Chester.

5. Richard Birkenhead, chosen recorder of Chester 17th Eliz. 1575. He surrendered this office in 1601, by reason of extreme old age, not able to execute the same.

6. Thomas Lawton, chosen recorder 44th Eliz. 1601.

7. Thomas Gamull, a citizen born; son to Alderman Edmund Gamull of Chester, chosen 3rd Jac. 1605. He died August 11, 1613.

8. Edward Whitby, son of Robert Whitby, then mayor of Chester, was chosen 1613, 11th Jac. He died April 8, 1630, at the Bache.

9. Robert Brerewood, a citizen born, was chosen recorder 15th Car. 1. 1639. He was son of John Brerewood, sheriff of this city; which John was son of Robert Brerewood, wet-glover, thrice mayor of Chester. This recorder had two wives; the first was Anne, daughter of Sir Randle Manwaring, of Over Peover, the younger; the second was Katherine, daughter of Sir Richard Lea, of Lea and Dernhall, in Cheshire, and had several children by each of them. He was sergeant-at-law, judge of three shires in Wales, and was made judge of the common-pleas, and knighted at Oxford 1643. He died the 8th of September, 1654, aged 67 years, and was buried in St. Mary's church, at Chester.

10. John Ratcliffe, a citizen born, son of Alderman John Ratcliffe, was chosen recorder 1646, in the time of the great rebellion, after the surrender of the city to the parliament. He was removed because he refused the negative oath; and Richard Haworth, a lawyer of Manchester, was chosen in 1651; and because Haworth would not reside constantly at Chester, he surrendered the office to the said John Ratcliffe, who was again chosen 1656, but was put out by the commissioners for regulating the corporations of the city and county palatine of Chester, A.D. 1662, because he refused to take the oath enjoined by act of parliament in that behalf.

11. Richard Lieving, of Parridge, in Derbyshire, was chosen recorder by the commissioners aforesaid, 1662. He died in the beginning of April, 1667.

12. William Williams, son of Dr. Williams, of Anglesey, was elected recorder, with the king's approbation, 1667, a very acute young gentleman. This recorder was male ancestor of the Wynn's of Wynnstay. He had been educated at Jesus college, Oxford, was subsequently a member of Gray's Inn, was elected a burgess for Chester, on the death of Sir Thomas Smith,

and was re-elected to serve in the two parliaments summoned 31 Car. II. and a fourth time in the year succeeding, in which two last parliaments he was chosen speaker of the house of commons. In the 36th of Car. II. he suffered the singular hardship of being tried in the king's bench for a libel, for causing to be printed, in his official capacity, the information of Thomas Dangerfield, and of being fined ten thousand pounds, notwithstanding that the publication was the act of the commons, and made by him, as speaker, by their order. He was appointed attorney-general Dec. 1687, knighted at Whitehall on the 11th of the same month, and acted as solicitor-general at the trial of the seven bishops, June 29, 1688, within eight days after which he was created a baronet. Sir William Williams represented Caernarvonshire in three parliaments. Having been removed by the charter of King Charles II. in 1684, he was succeeded by

13. Sir Edward Lutwyche, king's sergeant, who resigned in 1686, whereupon Richard Levings was elected in his stead, and was approved by the crown, and returned one of the burgesses for Chester in the parliament summoned 1st William and Mary.—Sir William Williams was restored to the office by the last charter of King James II. in 1687, and dying July 11, 1700, was succeeded by

14. Roger Comberbach, elected on September 19th in the same year, who had been previously town-clerk, and was subsequently one of the judges of Caernarvon, Anglesey, and Merioneth. He died January, 1719.

15. Thomas Mather, son-in-law of Mr. Comberbach, was elected in his room Jan. 1719-20, and was the last recorder whose election was approved by the crown, the succeeding recorders being elected in the ancient manner, without application for royal sanction.

16. William Falconer succeeded in 1748. A monument to the memory of this gentleman, who died in 1767, was placed in St. John's church. By Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Randle Wilbraham, of Townsend, Esq. he was father of Thomas Falconer, of Chester, an individual of considerable classical acquirements, the fruit of which was the Oxford edition of Strabo. On the resignation of Mr. Falconer,

17. Robert Townsend succeeded in 1764.

18. Thomas Cowper, of Overleigh, the representative of a family, which had been for many generations closely connected with the city of Chester, was elected on the resignation of Mr. Townsend, and dying in 1788, was succeeded by

19. Foster Bower, elected recorder in that year.

20. On the death of Mr. Foster Bower, Hugh Leycester, king's counsel, a younger brother of the family of Leycester of Teft, was elected in his room, and was subsequently appointed vice-chamberlain of Chester, and chief justice of the North Wales circuit. Mr. Leycester resigned his office in 1814, and was succeeded by

21. David Francis Jones, a native of the city, and son of a most respectable solicitor, who was appointed in the same year. He resigned the office in 1820; has since travelled the northern circuit, in which he obtained a respectable practice; and has lately been made a king's sergeant.

22. Samuel Yate Benyon, elected in 1820. He died in 1822.

23. The present recorder (Feb. 1830) is Richard Tyrwhitt, Esq. a gentleman of great respectability, who was elected on the death of Mr. Benyon.

CLERKS OF THE PENTICE.

The Town-Clerk of Chester is a very ancient officer, being generally called the Clerk of the Pentice, and of the several Courts of Pentice, Crown-mete and Portmote. This officer is said to have existed as long as those courts; though at present the following are the only persons whose names can be satisfactorily ascertained, with the dates of their appointment.

In 1404, a writ, a *certiorari*, was delivered to the mayor and sheriffs, to remove a cause out of the mayor and sheriff's courts, because *William de Hawarden*, clerk of the Pentice and of those courts, was cousin to one of the parties. *Thomas de Hawarden* held the office afterwards.

1510 John Farrar. He was also deputy-recorder.

1540 Raufe Wryne. He was also recorder.

1543 William Newhall.

1551 Thomas Glaseor.

John Yearworth executed the office by deputy.

Anthony Harper did the same.

1590 William Knight (who had been seven years Mr. Harper's deputy) was succeeded by

1600 Ellis Williams, who was succeeded by

1602 Robert Whitby.

1609 Thomas Whitby, joined with the said Robert his father.

1619 Robert Brerewood, learned in the law; who was also a Welsh judge, and recorder.

1627 Robert Littler, jun.

1639 David Lloyd.

1648 John Jones.

1649 Richard Goulborn.

1651 Ralph Davenport, who executed the office by George Bulkeley, his deputy.

1653 Daniel Bavand, who employed the same deputy.

1655 George Bulkeley, before-mentioned.

1688 Roger Comberbach, appointed recorder in 1700.

1700 Richard Adams.

1712 Thomas Lloyd and Roger Comberbach, appointed jointly.

1756 Thomas Brock, jointed with the said Roger Comberbach, whom he survived.

1786 William Hall.

1795 George Whitley.

1799 William Richards, who in the year 1813, appointed John Finchett-Maddock, his deputy.

1817 May 2. John Finchett-Maddock, on the resignation of William Richards. This gentleman at present (Feb. 1830) fills the office.

The corporation of Chester is composed of twenty-four aldermen and forty common-councilmen; from among them are chosen the mayor, recorder, two coroners, two treasurers and murengers, two leave-lookers; the two sheriffs, on their appointment, are not necessarily of the corporate body, though one or both of them have usually been so; nor does that office make them a constituent part of the select body, after the expiration of their year of office.

The mayor of Chester, by ancient usage, confirmed by the charter of Henry VII. has *crownmote* and *portmote** courts. The former must have been created by one of the earls of Chester, as we see by the following document, extracted from the rolls of the court of session at Chester, 44 Henry III. that it was in existence in 1260:—"Be it remembered, that the sheriffs and commonalty of the city of Chester, bailed to the liberty of their town from the gaol of the castle of Chester, Dawe the son of Maurice, suspected of many robberies, and him afterwards delivered, and the same was soon afterwards attainted for stolen goods found upon him, and capital offences perpetrated within their bailiwick."

In this court, the mayor, assisted by the recorder, tries all criminals excepting traitors; the former presides, but the latter passes sentence of death, and may respite at pleasure. The *portmote* court is also held before the mayor, every Monday fortnight, and holds pleas real, personal, and mixt, without writ. The jurisdiction of these courts, and of the city coroners, extends through the city liberties, and on the river Dee to high water mark,

* *Portmote* is derived from the word *port*, Chester being an haven for ships, and *mote* a Saxon word for court. It appears from the ancient books of the corporation, that the "*portmote*" was something analagous to the "*folkmote*," which signified originally, according to Jacob, "a general assembly of the people, to consider of, and order matters of the commonwealth." There was anciently used by the Saxons a *mote-bell*, employed by the English Saxons to summon people together to the court. The remains of this ancient custom is still retained in this city to this day, where a small bell is rung at St. Peter's church, when the mayor and recorder go into court, at each of the general courts held in April, August, and October.

from Arnold's Eye below the city bridge, and opposite to the castle, to the Red-stones, near Hoyle-lake.

The pentice court (so denominated from the building in which it was formerly held) is held before the sheriffs, every Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, who have cognizance by plaint of personal actions here to any amount, but these causes may be removed from hearing in the portmote, by order of the mayor, or petition of the parties. This court is also of very remote origin, more ancient perhaps than the crownmote, though the earliest roll extant of its existence, amongst the muniments of the corporation, is of the date of 1282.

Another court known to our local jurisprudence is denominated the sessions' court, created by the charter of the 21st Henry VII. power being given to hold it by the aldermen who are justices of the peace, or to any four of them, the mayor and recorder being two.

A fifth court formerly held was what was termed the passage court, required to meet every six weeks, and a bye-law was passed by the corporation, imposing a penalty on the sheriffs, if they failed to hold them at the stipulated times. This court was to try all causes which had been brought to issue in the pentice court, and tried by a jury. Although I have stated the original nature and constitution of the preceding courts; yet the fact is, that at present they are only held three times a year, for the trial of criminal and civil causes, namely, the day before holding each assize for the county, and the day before the choosing of the mayor.

There is also a sixth court occasionally held in the city, known by the name of the county court, created by the charter of Henry VII. This, however, is never held but for the purpose of election for members of parliament, the pentice court being found more convenient and efficient.

Of the honours and duties of the chief officers of the select body, it may be necessary to give a short account. The mayor of course always ranks and acts as head of the

corporation. He is invested by charter with the escheatorship and clerkship of the markets ; in all public processions, he is attended by a sword-bearer, and sergeant at mace, the former being allowed to carry the sword with the "point upwards," and the latter to have their emblems of dignity "gilt, or of silver, or silvered." As already intimated, the mayor presides over all the courts of which he is cognizable. On the usual court-days, Wednesday and Saturday, his worship is generally attended upon the bench in the administration of justice, by some of the aldermen, all of them who have passed the chair, being justices of the peace for life.

The duties of recorder, town-clerk, treasurer, and coroner, are too well understood to need enumeration.

Besides the duties usually devolving upon the office of sheriff, there is one, not less peculiar than irksome, which pertains to the sheriffs of the city of Chester ; namely, that of being charged with the execution of all criminals, not only within the city, but the county also. Much doubt and obscurity have long prevailed as to the cause and origin of this custom ; but as I intend investigating this subject in a separate article, nothing further need be said upon it here.

The office of leave-looker is of ancient standing. It is quite clear, that as early as 1297, officers charged with similar functions as at the present day, were elected under the name of *custos guild mercator*. Speaking of these, Webb, in King's Vale Royal, observes, "A continuance of the same officers remaineth to this day in the *leave-lookers*, who then were the head and chief of the citizens before a mayor was ordained, and still is reputed the head or chief of the forty, or the common-council of the city, and are chosen usually of the best ability of the same forty, as may expend and make provision in such matters as belong to the honour and dignity of the city, and to look to the profits and commodities of the city in such customs and duties as fall due by importations of merchandize into the same." They were accustomed to go round the city, in order to preserve its privileges, and

were used to take small sums, called *leave-lookerage*, for *leave* for non-freemen to sell wares by retail. In later times the yeoman of the pentice discharged this duty; but at present there is little or no regard paid to this branch of revenue.

The duties of the *Murengers* were formerly of considerable extent and importance, and consisted in collecting the customs on imports, which were appropriated to the repairs of the city walls. The appointment of these officers is continued annually, but this source of revenue is almost entirely dried up. So long as the direct importation of Irish linens to this port was continued, an adequate sum was raised for this purpose, but that trade has long been diverted into other channels, and with its disappearance the revenue has failed. The latter circumstance will be more particularly noticed, when I come to speak of the trade of the city.

The mode of electing the different branches and members of the corporation, as well as the constituent parts of which it is composed, have varied at different periods.* The charter of king Henry VII. is considered

* There is a document amongst the corporation records, which purports to be a return to a quo warranto, under the statute of the 6th Edw. I. in which the constitution of the city is thus stated :—“ The Maior and citizens of the citty of Chester clayme to have liberties under-written, that is to say, that the citty of Chester be a free citty : and that the citizens may chuse to them a maior of themselves from year to year, the Friday next after the feast of St. Denyce, which shall make his oath to keep the laws of our sovereign lord the prince, and the liberties and laws of the citty aforesaid. And also that they may chuse to them two sheriffs of themselves, the day aforesaid, which in manner aforesaid the execution and commandments of the said Earl of Chester, and of the maior and citizens of Chester, truly shall do by their oaths, and to have *Gildam Mercalem* in the citty aforesaid, and to have free court of port-mote in the city aforesaid, of all quarrels growing within the citty aforesaid to be tried (that is to say) to have pleas of lands and tenements, and of repleven growing by plaint, in the port-motes, or writ and pleas of dower in a writ of right, which in the aforesaid port-mote by writ originally ought to be served. And all other pleas to be holden in the pentice of the citty aforesaid, afore the sheriff there ; and to have two fairs by the year, one by a whole week next before the feast of the Nativity of John Baptist, and on the day of the same feast, and one week next following : and another fair

to be the governing one of the city ; but the present mode of election differs from that prescribed by the charter, in the election of the aldermen and common council, by the select body, instead of by the citizens at large. This is a point which has divided the city for a long period of time, and given rise to numberless legal litigations. But as the author has already announced his intention of prefixing to his work a *Political History* of the city, he must take leave to reserve any further observations on this subject to that portion of his labours.

by one week next afore St. Michael, and on one week next following. And on two markets every week, that is to say, the Wednesday and the Saturday. And whatsoever to any fair or market belongeth."



Charters, Grants, Parliamentary Acts, &c. Relative to the City of Chester.

FROM what has already been advanced in the early part of the history, sufficient is disclosed to show the high antiquity of the city of Chester. And as this is unquestionable, so there are few, if any, places in the kingdom, that can boast such lucid evidences, from written documents, of that fact. Nor is it a little creditable to our local ancestors, that these have been scrupulously preserved amidst the varied political convulsions that have agitated the city in different periods; and at present, the order and excellent arrangement of the city muniment-room, at the Exchange, are the theme of unmingled praise by those individuals who have occasion to refer to original documents.

The original grant of peculiar immunities to the city, by our first local monarch, is not known to be in existence; but that such were actually promulged is undeniable, as all the subsequent charters advert to previous grants. The three following ones, translated from their originals, and numbered in the order of time in which they were given, will be greatly esteemed by the curious in our local antiquities; for although I have seen them referred to by most of our historians, they have never found their way into print.—

CHARTER I.

“Randle, Earl of Chester, to his constable and dapifer, justice and sheriff, and all his barons and bailiffs, and all his men, French as well as English, future as present, greeting, be it known to you all, that I have given and granted, and by present charter have confirmed

to all my citizens of Chester, their guild mercatory, with all liberties and free customs, which they ever better and freely and quietly have had in the times of my ancestors, in the aforesaid guild. And I prohibit on the forfeiture to me of ten pounds if any one shall disturb them. These witnesses :—Roger, Constable of Chester ; Ralph de Monte Alto, Steward of Chester ; William and Robert Patrick ; Philip de Orreby ; Richard and William de Boidell ; Richard Phitton ; Luilph de Twamlow ; Rauno de Davenham ; Warin de Vernon ; Robert, the son of the fisher : Peter, the clerk ; Earl Richard ; Fisher Herbert, of Pulford ; William de Verdon ; Thomas, the clerk. Written in the presence of the Earl, and many others at Chester.”

CHARTER II.

“Randle earl of Chester, to his constable, dapifer, justices, bailiffs, and all his barons, and all his men, French and English, as well to come as present,—be it known to you all, that I have given and granted, and by my present charter have confirmed to all my citizens of Chester, all the liberties and all the free customs which they ever better and more freely and quietly have had in the times of any of my predecessors ; and particularly an acquittance and release of recognizance and proportionment, in the said city of Chester for ever. And that if any citizen of my aforesaid city die, his testament reasonably made may be good in law, and firm wheresoever he may die. And that if any citizen shall make any purchase in open day and before witnesses, and suit shall afterwards come from a Frenchman or an Englishman, who can reasonably challenge the thing bought, the citizen who shall have made that purchase may be quit of me and my bailiffs, by losing so much only, and restoring what he shall have bought, if he cannot otherwise satisfy the challenge ; but if suit shall arise from a Welshman, who can reasonably challenge the price of the thing bought, he may give back to the citizen what the same citizen shall be reasonably able to show that he gave for

the thing bought. And that if a citizen in the aforesaid city shall have lent to any one his chattels, it may be lawful for him to take surety in the city for the recovery of his chattels, without licence or demand from my sheriff or other bailiff. And if any citizen of the aforesaid city in my service shall have been slain, it may be done with his chattels as if he should have made a reasonable testament. All these the aforesaid liberties and free customs to the aforesaid citizens I have given and granted, and by my present charter have confirmed to them and their heirs, to be had and held of me and my heirs freely and quietly, and peaceably for ever. And I forbid that any one disturb them or their heirs therein, under the forfeiture of 10*l*. These being witnesses—Roger, Constable of Chester; Ralph de Monte Alto, Steward of Chester; Ralph de Mainwaring; William and Robert Patrick; Phillip de Orreby; Richard and William de Boidell; Richard Phitton; Luilph de Twamlowe; Randle de Davenham; Warin de Vernon; Robert, the Son of Picol; Peter le Clerk; Earl Richard; Picie Herbert de Pulford; William de Vernon; Thomas Clark; and many others at Chester.”

CHARTER III.

“Randle, Earl of Chester, to his constable, dapifer, justice, sheriff, barons, knights, bailiffs, and all his men, present and to come, greeting: Know ye, that I have granted, and by my present charter have confirmed, to my demesne men of Chester, and to their heirs, that no one may buy or sell any kind of merchandize, which shall have come to the city of Chester by sea or land, but them or their heirs, or by their favor, unless the fairs appointed on the nativity of St. John the Baptist, and on the feast of St. Michael. Wherefore I will that my aforesaid men, and their heirs, may have and hold the before-mentioned liberty from me and my heirs for ever, freely, quietly, honorably, and peaceably; and I prohibit on the forfeiture of 10*l*. to be taken for my use, that no one may hinder or trouble them in respect of the aforesaid liberty.

Witnesses:—the Lord Hugh, then Abbot of Chester ; Phillip de Orreby, then Justice of Chester ; Warren de Vernon ; William de Venables ; Peter le Clerk ; Roger de Mainwaring ; Hugh and Thomas de Spencer ; Alured de Suligne ; William Pincerna, Norman Pantulf ; Adam de Yeland ; David de Malpas ; Josecram de Helsby ; Richard de Rengeslegh ; Hugh and Geoffrey de Dutton ; Master Hugh ; and many others.”

All the above charters are without date, a circumstance which has led all our local historians into gross mistakes as to the period of their grant. Webb, in the Vale Royal, has led the way to these errors, which have been adopted, without examination, by those who followed him ; he says, “ The first charter that I find mentioned is from the *first* Ranulph, Earl of Chester,” which “ makes a large grant to the city, and warrants the same strongly against his heirs, and appoints forfeitures upon all that shall withstand, which charter is without date ;” adding, that this charter was confirmed by the other two Randals, with additions. He then places among the attesting witnesses, “ Domino Hugone, Abbate Cestriæ.” Now Randal, the first earl, demised in 1128, whereas Hugh, the eighth abbot, was not installed until the year 1208, that is, in the time of Randal Blundeville. The Messrs. Lysons state the fact in the same way, in which they are followed by Mr. Ormerod, Dr. Pigott, Mr. Hanshall, &c. It may be equally demonstrated that the second charter was not the grant of the second Randal. It will be seen, that the signature of Philip de Orreby is appended to all the three charters. Now it is impossible that he could have been a witness even to the second charter, if it had been granted by Randal II. taking it to be in the last year of his reign. This earl died in 1153, and Philip de Orreby lived to the year 1231, a period of seventy-eight years—an interval far too great to allow his being a party to documents so distantly asunder. Besides, the second charter, as well as the first, bears the name of Roger Lacy, the constable, who was contempo-

rary with Orreby, and is the same who flew to the rescue of Randal Blundeville, while besieged in the castle of Rhuddlan. Nor have I been able to find in the public grants of either of the first Randals, of which Sir Peter Leicester gives a long list, any of the names of these three individuals, as subscribing witnesses, except that of Hugh the abbot, erroneously placed by Webb to the first charter; nor are the names of any of them mentioned in the transactions of the two first Randals. That the third charter was granted by Blundeville, is undeniable, being attested by Hugh, *the abbot*, installed as before-mentioned in 1208, and by Philip de Orreby, as *justice of Chester*, to which dignity he was appointed about 1202.

Upon a thorough examination of the whole, I therefore arrive at this conclusion, that all the above three charters were granted by the same individual, namely, Randal Blundeville; and this hypothesis receives an increased probability from the circumstance, that his reign extended to the unusual period of fifty-one years. It will be observed, that in each a recognition is made of previously existing grants, and it is certain the city had received favourable immunities as early as the local monarchy, and indeed before that period, though I know of no written document extant, to ascertain their precise character. Perhaps some of my readers may deem the time and space occupied in this discussion but ill employed. But although this may be the case with some, who seek in local history entertainment, rather than information, yet there are others, who would justly deem an history incomplete, unless the author paid some regard to ascertaining correct data for the facts he narrates. Subjoined is an enumeration of the various charters, grants, &c. made to the city from the above period, down to the present time, with some particulars in those which are deemed most important.

Earl John, the Scot, granted the same powers to the Guild Mercatorie, "as freely as in the time of his uncle

Randal." There was likewise a charter from King John in confirmation of other charters granted by King Henry II. which seems to have related to the customs between Chester and Ireland.

King Henry III. granted three charters under the great seal as king of England; by him the first mayor was created after he took the earldom of Chester into his own hands, in the twenty-second year of his reign. One of the said charters shews that he had seen the former charters of Randal, Earl of Chester and Lincoln, and doth grant and confirm, that none shall buy and sell merchandise in the city but citizens, except at the fairs mentioned in the charters of Randal, and he willeth that the said citizens shall have the same freedoms to them and their heirs for ever.—An. 32. Hen. III.

King Edward I. appointed the mayor and citizens of Chester to furnish two ships to serve in his wars in Scotland.—An. 4. Edw. I.

The same King Edward I. confirmed the former charters of his father Henry III. and also the charters of Randal, Earl of Chester, &c. and the same king, by the same charter, gave the city of Chester, with the appurtenances, liberties, and freedoms to the citizens of Chester, and their heirs, to be holden of him and his heirs for ever, paying yearly 100*l.*; he granted also the office of coroner, and that the citizens should have Socke, Sacke, Tole, Theam, Infang-theof, Outfang-theof, and to be free throughout all his lands and dominions of Tole, Passage, &c. This charter was dated at York.—An. 28. Edw. I.

Edward III. after reciting the said charter of King Edward I. his grandfather, confirmed as well the former charters of the earls, as also the said charter of Edward I.—This is dated Worcester, An. 1. Edw. III.

The same king again confirmed the former charters, and further granted to the citizens the vacant grounds within the city, with liberty to build upon the same.—Dated An. 1. Edw. I.

The same king did by another charter confirm his former, in fuller words and stronger language.—An. 25. Ed. III.

Edward Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester, son of Edward III. and commonly called the Black Prince, did by his charter, directed to the mayor and citizens, grant the fee farm of Chester, being a hundred pounds a year, to the Earl of Arundell, for the term of his life.

The same prince and earl, also confirmed the former liberties and charters, and particularly and distinctly specified the boundaries of the city, viz. from a spot called the Iron Bridge on the Eccleston-road, across the Wrexham-road to the Leach, then crossing Saltney-marsh, near the second mile-stone, and the river up to Blacon Point, along the old course of the river turning up to Stone Bridge, by the brook side, cross the Parkgate-road, up to Bachepool, along the side of the brook to Flookersbrook, then crossing the canal and the two turnpike-roads to London, down to the river side and up to Iron Bridge, making a circuit of about twelve or fourteen miles. This charter also gave to the mayor and citizens the jurisdiction of the river Dee, from Iron Bridge to Arnold's-eye, now called the Red Stones, near Hoylake, to which place the duty of the city coroner extends.—Dated An. 28. Edw. III.

King Richard II. by his letters patent, shews the ruinous state of the city and of the haven, and therefore released to the citizens seventy-three pounds ten shillings and eightpence, parcel of the hundred pounds for the fee-farm reserved by the charter of Edward I. for which the city was in arrears.—An. 1. Rich. II.

The same king granted to the city, the profits of the passage, towards the building and repairing the bridge of the Dee.—An. 2. Rich. II.

The same king confirmed all former rights and privileges.—An. 3.

Also he granted to the citizens the murage for four years.—An. 18.

The same king granted to the citizens the profits of the murage duties, towards the reparation of the walls of the city, for five years.—An. 21. Rich. II.

The same King Richard II. by the name of King of England and France, Lord of Ireland, Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester, confirmed the former charters and liberties in stronger words ; and under the seal of the earldom, erected it into a principality, which title however was annulled in the following reign.—An. 22. Rich. II.

The same king, using the above style, to remedy such demunities as had happened to the city, and for the furtherance of justice in the same city, did grant to his subjects, mayors, sheriffs, and commonalty of the said city, leave to hold their courts, and limited what processes they might award in actions personal, felonies, appeals, processes of outlawry, as to the common law. This charter carried great authority, was under the seal of the earldom, and dated at Chester, the 4th of August, An. 22. Rich. II.

King Henry IV. granted a pardon to the mayor and citizens for the service and aid they had given to Henry Percy. An. 5. Hen. IV.

Henry Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, eldest son of King Henry IV. confirmed all former charters, and gave the mayor and citizens power to hold and enjoy their ancient freedoms.

The same Henry, Prince and Earl, granted the mayor and citizens, the profits of the murage and bridge tower, *durante bene placito*, An. 10. Hen. IV.

And in the third year of this king, a reservation of the tythe of the roodeye was by him confirmed, “ that the parson of Trinity should not have it.”

King Henry VI. confirmed all former charters, An. 4.

The same king, by his charter, stating the great course of strangers and others, with merchandise to Chester, by reason of the goodness of the port, and the great trade for victuals and other things, in and out of Wales, to the great profit of the city, until the late rebellion (which seems to have been that of Owen Glendower), shewed how the same port of Chester was lamentably decayed, by reason of the abundance of sand, which had

choaked the creek, did for these reasons release to the city 10%. of the fee farm, reserved by Edward I. ; also he released parcel of the fee farm for which the sheriffs of the city were in arrears before the auditor.—An. 25.

Edward IV. released 50%. of the said fee farm, which must be either the former or some other arrears.—An. I. Ed. IV.

King Henry VII. did in the first year of his reign, remit *for ever* to the citizens of Chester, the sum of 80%. per ann. being part of the fee farm rent ; the remaining 20%. is still paid. Also,

The same Henry VII. did in the 21st year of his reign, grant a very full, favorable, and important charter, which has, however, by one of its provisions, caused much party animosity in the city ; this charter instituted the office of recorder, erected the city into a county by itself, and granted it to the citizens and commonalty (excepting the castle), to be governed by a corporation, which he empowered them to elect in the following terms :—

* “ We will also, and give and grant for us, our heirs, and successors, to the above-named citizens and commonalty, their heirs and successors, that they and their successors for ever, have power to elect, make, and create, every successive year, twenty-four fellow citizens, of the said city aforesaid, for aldermen ; as also forty other citizens of the said city, for the common council of the said city. Which twenty-four citizens so chosen and created, shall for ever henceforth have and bear the name of aldermen of the city of Chester ; out of which twenty-four aldermen, one, by the unanimous consent and assent of the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and the other citizens of

* “ Volumus etiam, damus et concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris prefatis Civibus et Communitati, heredibus et successoribus suis, quod ipsi et successores sui imperpetuum, singulis annis successivis, viginti quatuor concives civitatis predictæ in Aldermanos, necnon quadraginti alios cives ejusdem civitatis pro communi consilio civitatis illius, eligere, facere, et creare, possint ; qui quidem viginti-quatuor concives sic electi et creati, nomen Aldermannorum civitatis Cestræ habeant et gerant imperpetuum.”

the common council aforesaid, shall be chosen and appointed recorder of the city aforesaid. We will also, and grant for us and our heirs, that the aforesaid citizens and commonalty, their heirs and successors, shall have, make, and have power to chuse from among themselves every successive year for ever, a mayor of the said city; and that every mayor of the said city for the time being, so soon as he shall be chosen and appointed mayor of the city, be our escheator, and clerk of the market, &c. All fellow citizens of the said city, suburbs, and hamlets, dwelling within the said city, suburbs and hamlets of the said city, who chuse to be present at the election of the mayor, every year, upon Friday next, after the feast of St. Dennis, may meet together freely and without hindrance, at the Common-hall of the said city, who there being met, or the greater part of them, shall name two citizens, dwelling in the said city, that are most sufficient, discreet, and best able (of the number of the twenty-four aldermen) in the said city, suburbs, and villages, to be chosen in form following:—Either of them may or may not, heretofore, have been mayor or sheriffs of that city, and shall in no wise have occupied the office of sheriff, for the space of three years, next preceding the Friday after the feast of St. Dennis aforesaid; of which two so named, the greater part of the aforesaid aldermen and sheriffs then and there present, by scrutiny, shall name, chuse, and appoint one mayor; and if it so fall out, that in the election or nomination of this one person for mayor, the discordant voices be in number equal, then we will that the voice of the mayor for the time being, shall be taken and accounted for two; but in chusing the sheriffs of the city, this form shall be observed, viz.—That the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and other citizens of the said city and county, *dwelling there*, if they chuse to be present at the election of such sheriffs, may without contradiction, upon Friday next, after the feast of St. Dennis, yearly assemble and meet together; when the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen for the time being, or the greater part of them then and there personally being, shall the same day freely chuse

an able and sufficient person for one sheriff of the city; and the other said fellow citizens, then and there present, or the greater part of them, one other able and sufficient person for the other sheriff of the said city; which two, so chosen sheriffs of the said county and city, shall from the aforesaid Friday next, after the feast of St. Dennis, for one whole year, be and remain," &c.

This charter provides, that the sheriffs shall hold weekly courts to determine all pleas and assizes, by plaint, (without writ) coming before them, concerning all contracts and cases arising within the city aforesaid. It empowers the mayor of this city and his successors, to have their sword carried before them with the point upwards (in the absence of the king and his heirs) in the presence of all the nobles and lords of the realm of England. And that the serjeants at mace of the mayor and sheriffs of the city, and their successors, for the time being, may bear their maces gilt, or silver, or silvered, and adorned with the escutcheon and royal arms, as well in the presence of the king and his heirs, as in the presence of his consort, his mother, and heirs and successors aforesaid, within the said city.—The mayor and his successors may chuse two citizens, to act as coroner for the king within the liberties. Also the mayor and citizens and their successors may every year elect two citizens to be overseers of the walls of the city, called murengers, and that they, thus chosen, may every year collect and receive a certain custom or subsidy, called murage, towards the maintenance and building of the walls, as of old it hath been levied in the said city. No king's officers to intermeddle in the affairs of the city. The aforesaid mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, may in case of need and for the good of the citizens, make bye laws, with the assent of the *forty, other fellow citizens yearly chosen*, in the manner before directed, as to them may seem expedient, so that, however, these ordinances be profitable to the king and his people, and agreeable to good faith and reason as aforesaid.

It grants the Northgate tower to the mayor and sheriffs for a prison, as in time past it had been used. Also grants the fishery of the Dee to the citizens, and its custody, from the use of unlawful nets and other devices for the destruction of young fish, or in case of any violation of any statute already or hereafter to be enacted, to the mayor or sheriffs of the city. Also that the mayor and recorder of the city, and their successors for ever, and those aldermen who have been mayors of the city, as also those who hereafter shall sustain that burden, shall so long as they shall be alderman there,* jointly and severally be keepers of the peace, within and through the liberties of the city, without any other commission to be given them, than these letters patent, &c. &c.

Also that the citizens be not in any way restrained of any privileges or ancient customs of the same city, but that they and their heirs and successors keep all their liberties and free customs perfect, and inviolate as at any time heretofore they have done. That the aforesaid mayor and citizens, &c. have and hold the city hamlets and suburbs of the same, with all lands, tenements, profits, commodities, escheats, forfeits, deodands, amercements, fines, and a certain custom called murage, with all other rights and things aforesaid, howsoever belonging or appertaining to the city, &c. due to the king and his heirs, the earls of Chester, as fee farm of him, his heirs and successors, the earls of Chester, paying the aforesaid earls yearly, at the Exchequer of Chester, for the tenure of the premisses, twenty pounds of silver, and no more, at the feast of Easter, and St. Michael the Archangel, by equal portions. Also the mayor and citizens may build upon all the void places, and make the most, and reap the benefit thereof. "In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent, witness ourself at Chester, the sixth day of April, the twenty-first year of our reign."

* "Quamdiu Aldermanni ibidem steterint."

This charter of Henry VII. has only the great seal of the county palatine affixed.

King Henry VIII. directed his letters in parchment, under his privy seal, to the mayor of the city, charging that the inhabitants should remain within the same for the defence thereof; and not suffer any person by virtue of any of his letters, to take away any men in the city, without they mentioned the revocation of the said letters so directed to the mayor.

The same King Henry VIII. by an act passed in the 27th year of his reign, the preamble to which states, that justice had not been equally dealt in the county of Chester, (or in the several counties of Wales) as in other parts of the realm, enacted that for the future, justices of the peace should be appointed in Cheshire and Wales, as in other parts of the kingdom.

The county palatine of Chester having in former times had a parliament of its own, sent no representatives to the parliament of the realm, but having been abridged of some ancient privileges, the inhabitants petitioned that they might be allowed to send their knights and burgesses to parliament, in consequence of which petition it was enacted, in the 32nd year of the said king, that in future two knights should be returned to parliament for the county palatine, and two burgesses for the city of Chester.

The same king, by an act in the 33rd year of his reign, removed the sanctuary from Manchester to Chester. The act reserved a power to the king, that if it should appear that Chester was not a fit place for a sanctuary, he might, by his proclamation, appoint some other town or place in its stead. On the passing of this act, Hugh Aldersey, the mayor in 1541-2, accompanied by Mr. Foulk Dutton, went up with a petition to the king, and represented to his majesty that Chester being a port-town, and situated on the borders of Wales, was a very unfit place for a sanctuary for malefactors, and that it would be attended with great inconvenience to the merchants and inhabitants; the king acceded to their petition, and by proclamation removed the sanctuary from Chester to Stafford.

Queen Elizabeth did by her letters patent, dated at Westminster, April the 8th, in the 5th year of her reign, confirm the charter of her grandfather king Henry VII. The mayor and citizens having in due form surrendered absolutely the above letters patent, confirmatory of the charter of Henry VII.

The same Queen Elizabeth did on the 14th of June, in the 16th year of her reign, grant other letters patent under the great seal of England, and did confirm and recapitulate *verbatim* the above mentioned charter of king Henry VII. her grandfather, and did ordain that the same be taken and accepted for the city charter, and moreover did add to the same, "that so oft as it shall fall out that the mayor or sheriffs of the city aforesaid, or any of them do die within the year of their offices, that the aldermen, citizens, and commonalty, who wish to be present at the new election, may assemble and gather themselves together in the Common-hall of the city, on the Friday next after the death of the mayor or sheriffs, deceased, and then and there they may, and must chuse and appoint some one of the most discreet and fit person in the number of the twenty-four aldermen, in such manner and form as in the yearly election of the mayor of the city aforesaid they are accustomed to do; which mayor, so chosen and made, shall before all the aldermen present, take that oath which the mayors of the city before were wont to take. And if the mayor so chosen and made be not present at the election, then on the Friday next after his coming home, he shall take his oath before the aforesaid aldermen, or at least four of them in the Common-hall aforesaid; and after the death of every sheriff, deceasing as aforesaid, they shall elect and name one, out of the forty who are the common council of the city aforesaid, for sheriff, in such manner and form as in the yearly election of sheriffs in the year aforesaid, they accustomed to do; which sheriff so chosen, shall take his oath before the mayor then being, and the sheriffs so chosen shall continue in their offices from the day and time of the election aforesaid, until the Friday next after the feast of

St. Dennis, when they are wont to chuse new officers.”— This same charter goes on to give power to the mayor and citizens to hold lands, &c. to a certain amount; also it provides for the safe custody of the goods of orphans (as in the city of London) by the mayor and citizens; it grants a pardon to the mayor and citizens, with acquittance from all fines and forfeits for any improper exercise of their liberties, franchises, jurisdiction, &c.—This charter has the great seal of England, is dated 14th June, in the 16th year of Elizabeth, and signed by the queen herself, with the authority of parliament.

King James I. in 1604, gave a confirmation of the charter, which seems to have been merely complimentary. The year following his majesty wished to nominate a recorder, and by his letter to the mayor, aldermen and burgesses, dated Nov. 22nd. in the 3rd year of his reign, required them to elect Hugh Mainwaring, “givinge us therebie a testimonie of your comformitie to any thing yt is recommended from us to you.” This unconstitutional demand of James was respectfully but firmly protested against by the corporation of Chester, in a spirited letter, which for the honour of the city deserves to be transmitted to posterity :—

“To the King’s moste excellent Majestie.

“Most dreade and most gracious Sov’igne. In obedience of yo’r Ma’ties letters to us addressed dated xxijth of November laste but delivered firste the tennth of this instant January for the electinge of Hughe Mainwairinge unto the office of Recorder, within this citie w’ch now is become voied by the death of our late Recorder the vjth of this month. Wee the Maior, Aldermen, and Counsell of the said citie, unto whom the election belongeth assembled ourselves together upon receipte of your Highness said letters. But forasmuch as by the said charter granted unto us by your noble progenitor Henrie vijth of blessed Memorie, and latelie confirmed by your Ma’tie, noe person is eligible to that office, excepte he be one of the xxiiij Aldermen, and none can be chosen an Alderman excepte he be first infranchised and made a free

citizen amongst us. Such the said Hughe Mainwaringe is not, nor ever came hither in person to desyre the same, but is a meere stranger to us and the state of this incorporation, for the observation of w^{ch} Charter and all other liberties granted to this Citie we have taken our corporate oathes. Wee therefore your Ma'ties most humble and loyall subjectes cannot without expresse breach of our oathes and infringinge of our liberties elect the said Hughe Mainwaringe to be our Recorder; of wh^{ch} our juste excuse wee do most humbly beseeche your Ma'ties gracious acceptacon. And that your Highness will be pleased of your accustomed grace and clemencie to vouchsafe unto us our free election and to give us leave to make choise of a man to that office who is capable thereof by our Charter, whereof at this tyme there are div'se amongst us whoe are alreadie Aldermen of this Citie and such as have heretofore donne good service to this Corporation, and evrie waie fitt for the place both for their learninge in the lawes, their knowledge and experience of our orders and liberties, and their sinceritie in the true religion. And wee your Ma'ties moste loyall subjectes accordinge to our most bounden duties doe and will always upon the Knees of our hartes prae to the Almighty God for the most happie and prosperous state of your most excellent Ma'tie longe raigne over us."

King Charles I. had substantial proof of the loyalty of the citizens of Chester, and the devotion of the corporation to his cause; he had frequent correspondence with the mayor, but he does not appear to have made any alteration in the local government, or to have passed any act particularly affecting the city. From the unshaken fidelity and courageous loyalty which the corporation had evinced for king Charles, the parliament on September 17th, 1659, passed a vote to dissolve it and take away its charter. This, however, was in the February following, declared null and void.

Oliver Cromwell, as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, did by his letters patent, dated at Westminster,

on the 23rd of June, 1658, grant to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of Chester, and their successors, the hospital of St. John the Baptist, and all lands &c. thereunto belonging, and ordered that Richard Minshull, then mayor, and his successors in office, should be the masters and keepers of the said hospital for the time being. This charter is in English, highly ornamented, has a half length portrait of the protector, and is sealed with the great seal of the Commonwealth, on one side the armorial quarterings, supporters, motto, &c. and on the other an equestrian figure of Cromwell; the impression is remarkably well executed, and in the most perfect preservation.

King Charles II. in the 16th year of his reign, did confirm the charter of Henry VII. and renewed all the ancient rights of the city.

The same king Charles II. did towards the latter end of his reign, cause an information to be filed against the corporation of Chester, in the nature of a *quo warranto*, with a view to procure by some means or other, either the absolute destruction of the corporation, or get the power of it into the hands of the crown; this design it appears succeeded, for the corporation suffered judgment to go by default, not appearing to defend themselves; their franchises were then seized into the king's hands, and in the term following there was a final judgment entered up against them by which they were ousted of the franchise of being the corporation of Chester. We do not give the particulars of this charter, inasmuch as it has been decided by the House of Lords to be void; but the main feature of it was to exclude certain civic officers who were opposed to the introduction of the Catholics, and for the exclusion of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. from the crown, giving the king further power of removal, and giving to the select body the power of electing the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, common-council, and all the officers, to the entire exclusion of the community.

King James II. in pursuance of the power of removing corporate officers, according to the above charter of

his brother, did by an order of council made at the court of Windsor, on August 12th, 1688, amove all, or nearly all, the members of the corporation.

The same king did also by warrant, dated Windsor, 28th of August, 1688, direct his attorney-general to prepare a bill for incorporating the inhabitants of the city of Chester. And the same king did by his letters patent, bearing date 25th September, in the same year, incorporate the citizens and inhabitants, and appointed Sir Thomas Stanley, Bart. mayor, with all the other officers of the city; which last charter, however, contained the same power of amoval by the crown, as that granted in the 37th of Charles II.—James was soon after, though too late, convinced of the necessity of ingratiating himself with the people, in order to retain his falling throne, and he accordingly did on the 17th of October, in the said fourth year of his reign, issue “*A proclamation for restoring corporations to their ancient charters, liberties, rights, and franchises,*” and the said king did accordingly grant his letters patent, under the great seal of England, commonly called the charter of restitution, bearing date the 26th day of October, in the fourth year of his reign, as follows:—

Know ye, that we—have pardoned, remitted, released, and quitted claim, and by these presents—do wholly pardon, remit, release, and quit claim, to the mayor and citizens of our city of Chester, the judgments given against—the aforesaid citizens—in Hilary term, in the 35th and 36th years of the reign of our most dear brother Charles II. upon an information in the nature of a quo warranto, theretofore exhibited by Sir Robert Sawyer, Knight, attorney-general—before the king himself—at Westminster—and also all seizures and process thereupon had; and all and singular forfeitures, pains, and penalties, by the said citizens—by reason of the said judgments—also all and singular claims and demands of us, our heirs and successors, against any liberties, privileges, or franchises, by the said citizens—before the time—of rendering the said judgments, lawfully held or enjoyed—and farther,

do restore and grant to them, the mayor and citizens of the city of Chester aforesaid, all and singular liberties, franchises, lands, tenements, rents, jurisdictions, hereditaments, &c. whatever, which to them in any wise appertained, at or before the time of rendering the said judgments; and further, we do, for us, our heirs and successors, by these presents, constitute and restore to William Streete, Esq. (who was mayor of the city of Chester aforesaid, at the time of rendering the aforesaid judgments), the office of mayor of the city; also we constitute and restore Sir William Williams, Knight and Baronet, the office and place of recorder and alderman of the same city. And we constitute and restore to William, Earl of Derby, Thomas, Earl Rivers, Sir Thomas Grosvenor, Bart. Sir Peter Pindar, Bart. Roger Whitley, Esq. the said William Streete, Thomas Wilcox, Richard Wright, Thomas Sympson, Henry Lloyd, William Ince, John Anderson, George Mainwaring, Peter Edwards, Nathaniel Williamson, William Wilson, Edward Gulton, and Hugh Starkey, gentlemen, (who were aldermen of the said city at the like time of rendering the said judgement), the several and respective offices of aldermen. And we constitute and restore to Robert Warren, the office of sheriff of the said city, to hold and exercise the same several respective offices and places, in such and as ample manner and form as before rendering the said judgment. And that the said mayor, recorder, aldermen and sheriffs, and the common council of the city aforesaid, shall chuse and cause to be chosen others in the places of aldermen, sheriffs, and citizens of the common council aforesaid, now vacant within the said city, in such and the like manner and form as the aldermen, sheriffs, and citizens of the said city of Chester, in the common council of the said city, at or before the time of rendering the said judgment, were elected. And also that they cause the citizens of the said city, to be assembled in the common hall of the said city, to make election, and do all things requisite and accustomed, and to be done in the usual manner, &c. &c. Given at Westminster, the 26th of October. By the king himself.

In the 11th and 12th years of William and Mary, an act of parliament was passed, "to enable the mayor and citizens of Chester, to recover and preserve the navigation of the river Dee." In the 6th of Geo. II. another act was obtained for the same purpose, by which the undertaking was transferred to Nathaniel Kinderley; and in the 14th of the same king, the like powers and privileges were invested in an incorporated company, now known by the appellation of the *River Dee Company*. Other acts were subsequently granted; but as it is my intention to introduce a condensed history of the *Dee Navigation*, when I come to review the trade of Chester, nothing more is here necessary to be added.

King George II. did by an act in the 26th year of his reign, "For the stopping of a distemper in horned cattle," alter the day of the annual election of mayor, sheriffs, treasurers, coroners, and leave-lookers of the city of Chester, from the Friday next after the feast of St. Dennis, to the Friday next after every 20th of October, in order to avoid the inconvenience which would arise to the citizens, from the alteration of the style bringing the ancient day of election into the fair week. Anno. 26 Geo. II. cap. 34, sect. 4.

In the second year of Geo. III. an important act was obtained for regulating the Police of the city, entitled, "An Act for better regulating the poor, maintaining a nightly watch, lighting, paving, and cleansing the streets, rows, and passages, and providing fire engines and firemen, and regulating the hackney coachmen,* chairmen, carters, and porters, within the city of Chester." The principal provisions of this act are the following:—It directs the incorporation of certain persons, to be elected by the parishes within the city, as guardians of the poor, who with the mayor, recorder, and aldermen, being justices of the peace, were to be in name and fact, one body,

* This provision in the act appears to be perfectly nugatory. No hackney coaches have ever been established in Chester, nor probably ever will be. In the city, the rows are always a protection from the rain and mire; and the population generally is confined within comparatively narrow limits.

politic and corporate in law, and to have a perpetual succession and common seal, and be called the Guardians of the Poor within the city and county of Chester, &c. This act vested the Poor-house in the above guardians, from the first of May, 1762, for the term of ninety-nine years, subject to the payment of 90*l.* per ann. to the mayor and citizens. The guardians are empowered to levy fines upon persons refusing to act as guardians after being duly elected; but no person liable to serve again as guardian within three years of his first election. They have power to hold a special court on giving two days notice, to be left at the usual place of abode of each guardian. Penalty for refusing to attend, or members departing without leave. Power to examine witnesses on oath. May purchase ground for building upon. Power to search for poor within the city, and compel them to go into the House of Industry. Property vested in the guardians, who may prosecute persons stealing or embezzling it, and levy a penalty on persons buying any of the goods, &c. Treasurers to give security. Officers to account on oath, in case of refusal to be committed. Rates to be collected by the church-wardens and overseers. Rates to be published in the churches, entered in books, and allowed by justices. Payment of rates refused, to be raised by distress and sale, for want of which the party to be committed. Penalty on church-wardens and overseers neglecting their duty. In case of insolvency of collectors, the rates to be made good by their respective parishes. On a refusal to pay over money when collected, the same may be levied by distress, for want of it the party to be committed. The books, papers, &c. may be inspected by any rated inhabitant. Guardians may contract for the care of the poor of other places. Persons employed by guardians not to gain settlements; nor bastards born of any woman under their care. A minister to be provided.

Commissioners to be elected for the regulation of paving, and lighting, &c. Penalties to be levied on persons not removing nuisances or obstructions in the streets,

rows, and passages, when ordered. Pavements and pipes may be broken to get water in cases of fire. Twenty-one commissioners may, as they find necessary, order any pavement, steps, &c. belonging to any individual or body corporate, to be repaired, amended, or wholly renewed at their own proper charge, in such manner and at such time as the said commissioners shall appoint. In case of non-payment, any one justice may, upon proof of demand, by warrant, cause all such charges and sums of money to be levied by distress and sale, and for want of it commit such party to the common gaol, there to remain without bail, until payment. Commissioners to cause copies of all order and regulation for watchmen, to be delivered to the constables. Watchmen have power to apprehend all disorderly persons, night-walkers, or other persons found idling or wandering about in the night time, and detain them in safe custody till they can be brought before the mayor and magistrates, who have power to confine, whip, and keep to hard labour in the House of Correction, for thirty days, any reputed whore, or common night-walker; or to publicly whip at the high cross in Chester. Any seven commissioners have full power, from time to time, to set town and ascertain the fares and prices to be paid by hackney coachmen, chairmen, carters, carmen, and porters, plying within the liberties of the city; and for enforcing such regulations, they have the power to fix penalties and levy by distress. The mayor to preside at all meetings, in his absence the recorder, and if neither be present, the senior justice of the peace, or in want of such justice, such one of the commissioners present as the major part of them shall appoint. Those not attending to be summoned, and in case of refusal, or departing without leave, to be fined. They may contract for lamps, and also for any person to keep in repair the fire engines and other necessities. Persons damaging lamps, &c. to forfeit for the first offence 5*l.* for the second 10*l.* for the third 15*l.* to be levied by distress. Any person who shall throw or set fire to any squibs, crackers, fireworks, &c. or fire any gunpowder, &c. &c.

or make, or assist to make any open fire or bonfire (except by order of the mayor and four justices) or shall carry about any open fire in any street, lane, row, &c. &c. and shall be convicted on the oath of one or more witnesses, shall forfeit and pay for every such separate offence, the sum of 10*l*. Commissioners to raise money, and premises taxed by virtue of this act, to be rated according to the land-tax valuation, and the money to be raised in each ward to be collected by the collectors of the land-tax, and such preceding rate or assessment to be upon the tenants and occupiers of all property within the liberties of the city, so far as the commissioners or any seven of them shall direct. Collectors to be allowed two-pence in the pound for their trouble. Rates refused may be levied by distress, &c. Penalty on misconduct of collectors. Money lost to be made good by a fresh rate. Persons liable to a rate, and removing before it is collected, to be still liable. Commissioners may appoint officers, and allow them salaries. Bye laws may be revoked or altered. This act to be taken as a public act.

The above act, having been found in several respects, inadequate to its object, another was passed in the 43rd of Geo. III. to alter and amend the former one, the principal clauses of which are annexed.—Any seven of the commissioners enumerated may act, unless a larger number is specified as necessary. The mayor, recorder, and justices of the peace, also the dean and prebendaries for the time being, are qualified to act as commissioners; and no other person shall be qualified to act as commissioner, unless at the time of his acting he be seized or possessed, either in fee or for life, or for a term of not less than fourteen years, and be in actual possession of buildings, premises, &c. rated and assessed under this act, at the yearly value of 60*l*. or upwards, unless such person shall be the actual occupier of some house, shop, &c. within the city or liberties, rated and assessed under this act at the yearly value of 20*l*. or upwards. Any person acting as commissioner not qualified as above, shall for every such offence forfeit and pay the sum of 50*l*. to any person who

shall inform or sue for the same. Commissioners to take an oath to act with impartiality. Not to act in any case in which they are personally interested. A general meeting of commissioners to be held the second Tuesday in April, in each year, which shall be called the General Annual Meeting of the commissioners; when an account of all monies received or paid by virtue of this act shall be produced, examined, and settled, being verified by oath, which any commissioner is qualified to administer. Commissioners may order a rate or assessment to be made, by surveyors as often as they think requisite, which shall be signed by seven or more of the said commissioners, and shall not be deemed valid, unless so signed. Premises occupied by several persons, any one or more of them may be deemed liable to pay rates. John Fletcher, and John Bedward, appointed surveyors, with such salaries as the commissioners shall at some general meeting order and direct; if in any case such surveyors differ in opinion, then Thomas Penson, of Wrexham, architect, is appointed to settle the difference between the said surveyors, who are to take an oath to act impartially. Houses under the yearly value of 3*l*. not to be rated, and no messuage, &c. to be rated higher than 70*l*. except the Dee mills, which shall not be rated at any greater value than 100*l*. No empty and unoccupied house, shop, &c. to be rated. Persons quitting premises before the assessments be paid, shall be liable. Agreements between any landlord and tenant concerning payment of rates not to be affected by this act. The commissioners may cause the names of streets, &c. to be painted in any conspicuous place, and if any person shall wilfully obliterate or deface the same, he shall on conviction, by the oath of one witness, forfeit any sum not exceeding 40*s*. nor less than 10*s*. "The owners and occupiers of houses and other buildings, within the liberties of the city, shall at their own costs and charges, within such time and in such manner as the said commissioners at their general annual meeting shall from time to time by notice in writing, signed by their clerk, to be delivered to such owner or occupiers, or left at their

respective dwelling-houses, direct and appoint, cause all steps, stairs, posts, pillars, and pillasters, pallisadoes, pales, and rails, poles, projecting windows, porches, spouts, shew-boards, stalls, cellar-windows, doors and grates, steps into cellars and vaults, and all other encroachments and annoyances whatsoever, belonging to their respective houses, buildings, or premises, and extending over or upon the streets, squares, lanes, alleys, passages and public places, or any part thereof, to be removed, altered, or reformed, and also to cause the water to be conveyed from the roofs, cornices, and penthouses of their respective houses, and other buildings by proper and sufficient pipes or trunks to be affixed to the sides of their respective houses or other buildings; and in case any such owner or occupier shall neglect or refuse so to do, it shall be lawful for the said commissioners to cause the same to be done at the costs and charges of any such owner or occupier, and the costs and charges attending the removal, alteration, or reformation of the same, to be ascertained and settled by the said commissioners, shall, in case the same be not paid on demand made by any person authorized by the said commissioners in that behalf, be levied by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of such owner or occupier, by warrant under the hands and seals of the said commissioners, or any two or more justices of the peace of the said city of Chester, (which warrant such commissioners or justices are hereby authorized to grant) rendering the overplus (if any) upon demand, to the person or persons whose goods and chattels shall have been so distrained and sold; and if the tenant or occupier of any such house or other building shall remove, alter, or reform, any such encroachment, obstruction, or annoyance as aforesaid, to the satisfaction of the said commissioners, it shall be lawful for him or her to deduct and retain the reasonable charge and expense thereof, and also any money which shall or may have been levied upon his or her goods and chattels as aforesaid, out of his or her next payment of rent; and the owner, proprietor, or landlord of every such house or other building, is hereby required to allow the

same accordingly as a payment or part of payment of rent, as the case may be, and the same shall be good as such payment to all purposes whatever." Commissioners may raise money on mortgage of the rates, but it shall not exceed in the whole the sum of one thousand pounds. They may with consent of the mayor and citizens, make, repair, or cause to be opened in all or any of the streets, such drains, soughs, common sewers, and reservoirs as they shall think proper. "If any person shall trail or draw, or cause to be trailed or drawn upon, or along any of the said squares, streets, lanes, or public roads, within the said city, or the liberties thereof, any tree or piece of timber, or any stone, otherwise than upon wheel-carriages, or shall suffer any tree, &c. which shall be conveyed upon such wheel carriages to drag upon any part of the said squares, streets, lanes, or public roads, within the said city; or shall bring any stoned horse or stallion into any of the squares, streets, lanes, roads, or public passages aforesaid, or in the market-place, or places of the same city, otherwise than for the purpose of passing through or along the same, or shall exhibit the same in any of the places aforesaid; or shall suffer any butcher's blocks, huxter's standings, coach, chaise, waggon, cart, or other carriage, wheelbarrow, trucks, timber, bricks, lime, stones, slates, hay, straw, wood, faggots, coal, tubs, casks, crates, hampers, goods, wares, or merchandise, or any other materials or things whatsoever, to be laid or placed, and left to remain in any of the said squares, streets, lanes, roads, rows, public passages, or places, for any longer time than shall be necessary for removing or housing the same, or for the taking up or setting down passengers, or persons going into or coming out of any stage coach, or for the loading or unloading of any waggon, cart, or other carriage; or shall cast or throw, or cause to be cast or thrown any broken glass or earthenware, ashes, rubbish, dust, dirt, dung, filth, soap-lees, or any other nuisance, annoyance, or obstruction whatsoever, into, or laid in any of the said squares, streets, rows, lanes, roads, public passages or places, or shall

leave any cellar-doors open therein, or shall drive, draw, carry, or place in any of the rows, or on any of the footways of any of the said squares, streets, city walls, lanes, ways, public passages or places, any cart, wheel-barrow, hand-barrow, wheel-sledge, truck, or carriage, or wilfully ride, lead, or drive any horse or other beast or cattle therein or thereon; or shall cause any bull, bear, badger, or other beast, to be baited or worried in any of the streets, rows, or squares, within the said city, every person so offending shall for every such offence forfeit and pay any sum not exceeding five pounds, nor less than five shillings, to be recovered as after mentioned; and it shall also be lawful for any person or persons to seize and detain any such cart, carriage, wheelbarrow, or other matters, and also to impound any such horse, mare, mule, ass, swine, beast, or other cattle, in the common pound of the said city, or in such other place as shall be appointed by the said commissioners, and the same to detain in the said pound or places, until the penalty and the expenses of impounding, seizing, and detaining the same, shall be fully paid and satisfied; and in case such penalty, and all expenses attending the levying thereof, shall not be paid within four days next after such seizure, or after such horse, mare, mule, ass, swine, beast, or other cattle, shall be so impounded, it shall be lawful for the person or persons, who shall be appointed by the said commissioners for that purpose, to sell, or cause to be sold, such horse, mare, mule, ass, swine, beast, cattle, or other things so distrained or seized, returning the overplus (if any be) to the owner thereof, after such penalty, and the reasonable charges occasioned by such impounding, seizure, and distress, shall be deducted and paid." No person to be subject to any penalty on account of any building materials, &c. so that there be convenient room left for carriages to pass and re-pass, and the owner or occupier shall effectually inclose the same with posts and rails, and set up, and maintain a light during the night time, to prevent accidents, or mischief happening to passengers or cattle. Commissioners to appoint a time for the

removal of night soil, &c. Persons summoned to give evidence before the commissioners, liable to a penalty for refusal. Inhabitants declared competent witnesses and jurors, in all actions concerning the execution of this act. Penalties to be recovered with costs of conviction by distress and sale of the offenders' goods, and in case of deficiency the party may be committed to the common gaol without bail, for any time not exceeding six calendar months, or until such penalty, together with the costs, shall have been fully paid. Of penalties recovered, one moiety to go to the informer or informers, in such shares as the justices shall direct, and the other to the treasurer of the commissioners for the uses and purposes in this act mentioned. Charges of prosecution to be reimbursed. Any person thinking himself aggrieved may appeal to the justices of the peace, at the General Quarter Session for the city, within the space of seven calendar months next, after such cause of appeal shall have arisen. Proceedings not removable, nor to be quashed for want of form. Commissioners and their officers allowed to plead the general issue, and give this act in evidence. No process to issue against them unless previous notice shall have been given to such commissioners, clerk, &c. Tender of sufficient amends may be pleaded in bar to such action. Plaintiffs not to recover without proof of notice. Commissioners neglecting to give notice to be at liberty to pay money into court. No evidence to be given but what is mentioned in the notice. Nothing in this act to affect the powers of the General Turnpike Act, &c. Powers of the former act to extend to this. Declared to be a public act.

The royal assent was given to this act on the 27th of May, 1803.

The same king George III. did, in the 44th year of his reign, grant his letters patent, dated at Westminster, on the 7th day of November, to the mayor and citizens of Chester, in consequence of their petition, showing that by the constitution of the magistracy of the said city, "the mayor and recorder only being justices of the quorum,

great delays and inconveniences have arisen, and it is apprehended may hereafter arise, in the administration of justice, and particularly in the execution of the laws relating to the revenue and the poor, from the mayor and recorder of the said city for the time being, or either of them, being prevented by absence from the said city on account of illness, or any other reasonable cause, or by sickness, infirmity, or interest in any matter in question, from attending on or acting in the execution of the said offices of mayor and justices of the peace: and that it would be of great public utility to the said city, if the mayor for the time being were authorised to appoint a deputy, with power to execute the office of mayor in all things in the absence of the said mayor, for such cause as aforesaid; and that such deputy should be during his continuance in that office a justice of the peace of the quorum, in like manner as the mayor and recorder now are." He, the same king George III. did give and grant to the mayor and citizens of Chester, and their successors for the time being, "that it shall and may be lawful to and for the mayor of the said city for the time being, to nominate and appoint from time to time, by any instrument or writing under his hand and seal, executed by him in the presence of, and attested by two or more credible witnesses, with the consent and approbation of any three of the aldermen of the said city, for the time being, testified by their signing the same, one of the aldermen of the said city, who shall have served the office of mayor, to be deputy of him the said mayor, and to execute and act in the said office of mayor in the place and stead of the said mayor for the time being, and also in any other office or offices which is, or are to be executed by the mayor for the time being, in the place and stead of such mayor in and over the said city of Chester and county of the same city, at such times only as the said mayor for the time being shall be absent from the said city, on account of sickness or other reasonable cause, or be prevented by sickness, infirmity, interest, or other legal cause from attending on and executing the same office, which said

person so to be nominated and appointed, shall have and exercise by himself and together with any other or others, as the case may require, all and every the powers and authorities, jurisdictions, offices, and functions, which by the constitution of the said corporation are vested in, or ought to be exercised by the said mayor for the time being, by himself or together with any other or others, or as are vested in, or ought to be exercised by such mayor as exercising any other office within the said city, and county of the same. Provided always that such instrument of appointment shall be registered amongst the proceedings of the crownmote and portmote courts of the said city, within fourteen days of the execution of the same. And that it shall not be lawful for any such deputy to act under such appointment until such registration as aforesaid, and until he shall have taken an oath duly and impartially to execute the same according to the best of his skill and knowledge, which oath shall and may be administered by the mayor or two of the aldermen of the said city for the time being. And all acts, matters, and things, done and executed by the person so to be nominated and appointed as aforesaid, by himself or together with any other or others as the case may require, shall be as valid and effectual in the law to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as if the same had been done and executed by the mayor of the said city for the time being, named, chosen, and appointed as heretofore accustomed. And that every such deputy so to be nominated and appointed as aforesaid, shall during his continuance of the said office of deputy, be and be held, deemed, and taken to be a justice of the peace of us, our heirs and successors, of the quorum within the said city and county of the same, with such and the like powers, jurisdictions, and authorities, in all respects and of what nature soever, and whether the same are to be executed together with any other person or persons or otherwise, as are vested in the said mayor and recorder, as justices of the peace of the quorum, and which they or either of them can or may exercise by themselves or himself, or together with any

other person or persons by virtue thereof. And our will and pleasure is, that every such appointment shall continue in force during such time as the person who shall have made and executed the same as aforesaid, shall continue in the said office of mayor, or until the same shall be revoked by instrument in writing as hereinafter mentioned. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patent shall extend and be construed to extend to authorize and empower such person so to be nominated and appointed by the mayor of the said city for the time being as aforesaid, to exercise or execute all or any of the said offices, powers, authorities, jurisdictions, and functions hereby granted to, or vested in him, or which he is hereby authorised and empowered to exercise and execute either in the place and stead of the said mayor for the time being, or as a justice of the peace of us, our heirs and successors, of the quorum, within the said city, and county of the same, in such cases and at such times only as the said mayor for the time being, shall be absent from the said city, on account of sickness or other reasonable cause, or be prevented by sickness, infirmity, interest, or other legal cause, from attending on and executing the same. Provided also, that it shall and may be lawful for the said mayor, for the time being, to revoke any such appointment by instrument or writing, under his hand or seal, executed by him in the presence of, and attested by two credible witnesses as he shall see occasion, such instrument of revocation being registered amongst the proceedings of the crownmote and portmote courts of the said city, within fourteen days after the execution thereof."

No later or other acts or grants than the above have been made, that affect the local government of the city. It is true, that several attempts have been made at different times, to obtain some improvements in the Police Act; but difference of views in those who have associated

together for that purpose, as to the nature and extent of the proposed alterations and amendments, have hitherto effectually operated to preclude the requisite concurrence of sentiment. The commissioners have long found it necessary to raise the assessment to its maximum, namely, one shilling in the pound on rentals; and the sum thus raised affords but a scanty surplus for desirable improvements. One of the most palpable defects in the present act, is the restrictions of all rates to 70*l.* a year, except the Dee Mills, which are allowed to be assessed at 100*l.* By what species of *legerdemaine* this extensive property was permitted to be rated so much below its value, I know not; but certainly the rents amount to from 800*l.* to 1000*l.* a year. By the same restrictive clause, that enormous establishment, the lead-works of Messrs. Walker & Co. pays but 3*l.* 10*s.* which, according to the rule that governs the rate on all other property, ought to produce probably not less than twenty times that sum. The same may be said, though not to the same extent, of our large hotels, and other public inns, and gentlemen's mansions and premises, upon which no higher a claim can be made than 70*s.* a year. Whenever the time arrives for the revision of these legislative enactments, it is to be hoped that this disparity and partial inequality in the police assessments, will be remedied.



Ecclesiastical History.

IN a former part of this history, I have hazarded some speculations that the Christian faith was most probably introduced into the city of Chester, during the period while the legionaries of Rome remained here. Bradshaw the monk says, but without stating his authority, "that the Christian faith and baptism came into Chester, in the time of king Lucius, king of the Britons, who lived about 140 years after the Christian era." He affirms, "that a church was then built, and dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and that this was the mother church, and burial to all Chester and seven miles round, so continuing for upwards of three hundred years." It is also stated in the ancient records of Free Masonry, "that the Christian faith was preached at Caerleon, by *Amphibalus*, a Roman, about the year 300, and that it was he who converted Albanus, or St. Alban, the first who suffered martyrdom in Britain, in the year 303."

Sir Peter Leycester says, "I find no mention of a bishop of Chester before the Norman conquest." In the popular sense of the term, as it is now understood, Chester does not appear to have stood alone as the head of a diocese, being connected with Lichfield and Coventry, though the diocesan was occasionally called *Bishop of Chester*. In confirmation of which, Dr. Ormerod adduces the following evidences.

"Mention of a bishop of Chester, in ages anterior to the Norman conquest, occurs in several of the old chronicles and legends, and may not be improper for notice, though more as matter of curiosity than history. Henry Bradshaw, the monk of St. Werburghs, enumerating the three archbishops constituted by Lucius, places 'the second

o'er North Wales, in the city of Legions.' Hoveden says, that Chester was a bishop's see whilst it was under the dominion of the Britons, and an ancient MS. (formerly in the possession of Henry Ferrers, Esq. and printed in the *Monasticon* i. 197), informs us of Egbert's intending to have his daughter St. Edith, veiled by the then bishop of Chester. 'And the king Egbryght, for the wollennesse that was in Sent Modwen, betoke to hure his dowghtr Edyth, to norych, and to kepe, and to informe hur, after the reule of St. Benett, and after to veyle his dowhtur of the *Boschoppe of Chester*.' Wilfric is also called bishop of Chester, in the time of Ethelred in the MS. Chronicle of St. Werburgh's abbey. Parts of these accounts are obviously fabulous, and the others most probably allude to the bishops of Mercia under the designation of bishops of Chester. It is, however, observable, that Randle Higden, the monk of Chester, in speaking of the subdivisions of the Saxon bishopric of Lichfield into five sees, after mentioning the one placed at 'Legecestria,'* adds, 'quæ nunc Cestræ dicitur.' The similarity of the Saxon names of Chester and Leicester appear in this instance to have misled the monk, for it is agreed by the best authorities that the seat of this bishopric was in Leicester, and Rethunus, one of the later bishops of this series, expressly signs himself in the grant of Bertulphus to Croyland Abbey in 851, 'Episcopus Legerensis,' which alludes apparently to Leicester, and not Chester. At the latter end of the ninth century, Chester, as well as the see which Randle Higden appears to have erroneously placed at it, sunk under the incursions of the Pagan Danes, and remained in their hands, with occasional interruptions, until the year 947, when King Edmund wrested it from them, and again introduced Christianity within its walls. From this period to the conquest, Cheshire was indisputably subject to the see of Lichfield, as it most probably had previously been from

* Leicester was called Legerciester, Legerceaster, Legeracaster, Ligecestre, and Ligora—Chester, Legercestra, and Legeracetre.

the earliest establishment of that diocese. In the year 1075, when several bishops removed their sees to the largest towns of the diocese, Peter, who had been constituted Bishop of Lichfield, removed his see to Chester, making the collegiate church of St. John the Baptist his cathedral. After the death of Peter, his successor, Robert de Limesle, in order to possess himself of the riches of the monastery of Coventry, which had been so amply endowed by Earl Leofric, that it was looked upon to be the most wealthy in the land, removed his see from Chester to that monastery. After this period, the church of St. John in Chester has little claim to be considered as other than collegiate, the dean and prebends of that church having no voice in the election of the bishop of that see, which was determined in the time of Alexander Savensby, to be vested alternately in the canons of Lichfield, and the prior and monks of Coventry. The bishop is said to have retained a palace near the church of St. John. As late as the reign of Edward III. he pleaded claims to a quo warranto, in right of *three* churches of Lichfield, Coventry, and Chester; and from the removal of the see by Robert de Limesie, to the formation of the peculiar see of Chester, the bishops of Lichfield continued to be occasionally termed bishops of Chester." From the last-named bishop, Dr. Ormerod enumerates a list of twenty-seven, who successively occupied the episcopal throne, between this period and the erection of Chester into a distinct and independent bishopric.

FOUNDATION AND ENDOWMENT OF THE ABBEY OF ST. WERBURGH.

In examining the best authorities, as to the foundation of this abbey, I find several differences, though no material contradictions. To minute particulars, from the distance of time, and the comparatively uncertain

lights we have to guide us, the most acute genius and deepest research can never arrive at. But enough is discoverable to satisfy reasonable enquiry; and I discover nothing more satisfactory on the subject than what is given by an anonymous writer in King's Vale Royal, whose account is as follows:—

“Touching the original foundation of a monastery in this place, there is not any thing that I have seen from our historians or records, which may make a perfect discovery thereof. But by circumstance I do conclude, that Walpherus, king of the Mercians, who flourished about the year of Christ 660, perceiving his daughter Werburgh much disposed to a religious life, caused her to be veiled, and first built it for her, and such other pious ladies, who resolved to dedicate their lives to the service of God therein; for William of Malmsbury, an ancient author, and of great credit, speaking of this devout virgin, St. Werburgh,* saith, that she was buried at Chester, in the monastery there afterwards re-edified by Earl Hugh. Neither doth the charter of King Edgar import less, than that the abbey here was of great antiquity; for it appears that he, for the health of his soul, and also for the souls of King Edmund his father, King Athelstan his uncle, and other his ancestors, gave *humili familiæ Deo omnipotenti in honore sanctissimæ semperq. Virginis Werburgæ, in loco qui dicitur (nunc Cestria) Leiacestria asiduè militanti*, seventeen houses situate in the town of Hodesnid, Ceosaul, Huntingdon, Huxton, Eston, and Barn, whose charter bears date in the year 858. After which, viz. in the time of King Edward the Confessor, the famous Leofrick, then Earl of Mercia, not only enriched it with the grant thereto of fair possessions,

* Henry Bradshaw, in his life of this saint, gives an account of her shrine being received at Chester with great solemnity, and being deposited in the old church of St. Peter and St. Paul. He relates many legendary tales of the miraculous preservation of the city by the interposition of St. Werburgh, particularly in one instance, where he tells us, that the army of Griffin, King of Wales, then besieging the city, was stricken with blindness, in consequence of the saint's shrine being placed on the walls.

but repaired the buildings thereof, which either by time, or other accidents, inclined to decay.

"How long it continued a monastery of nuns (for such they were at first) I cannot take upon me to say, having no certain information thereof from any good authority; but do conclude, that it was not so till towards the Norman conquest; and then it seems canons secular were placed in their stead, which remained therein, till that Hugh, Earl of Chester, in the sixth year of King William Rufus, began the foundation of a new one for monks of St. Bennet's order in this place, having procured Anselm, abbot of Bec, before specified, to come over into this realm, chiefly for the ordering of that great work; which being accordingly performed, one Richard, a monk of Bec, and chaplain to the said Anselm, was by him first instituted abbot here.

"How large and plentiful an endowment this abbey had by the munificence of this earl, and Ermentrude, his countess, I shall here briefly observe from his original charter*—viz. the manors of Ynes, Salthorne, Sutton,

* I have had the good fortune lately to see the original charter of Hugh Lupus, containing the endowment of St. Werburgh's abbey, of the date of 1093, to which most of our historians have referred; but none seem to know where this valuable relique is at present deposited. Sir Peter Leycester, in making an imperfect extract from this curious document, observes as follows: "A. D. 1093, Anselm, abbot of Bec, in Normandy, came into England, at the entreaty of Hugh, Earl of Chester, then sick, by whose help the earl founded a monastery at Chester, and wherein Anselm placed Richard his chaplain the first abbot, and turned the secular canons into regular monks." Sir Peter then adds, "And indeed this agrees in time with the original charter of the foundation, which I transcribed out about 1644, then remaining among the evidences of that church, which were then kept in a certain room within St. Werburgh's church in Chester." In adverting to the date, when our Cheshire antiquary says he copied this charter, it will be found to be when the city of Chester was sustaining a desperate siege by the parliamentary forces, and we know that in two years afterwards, the city, with all its ancient records and muniments, was delivered up into their possession. The little regard the republicans paid to monuments of antiquity, rendered it a probable conjecture that this charter had fallen a prey to their unhallowed hands; and most likely a persuasion has been induced that such was the fact. I have the happiness of saying, however, that this curious document is still in existence, and now forms a part of the valuable collections of Earl Grosvenor, at Eaton. It is written on parchment, in five parallel columns, each divided

Cheveleie, Huntingdon, Boethon, Waversham, Crocton, Trocford, Clifton, Eston, Wisdletb, Hodslei, Weapre, with the half of Rabbi, and the third part of Weston, the third part of Salchale, and the third part of Staneie, with one carucate of the land in Pulford. In the city of Chester, of his own demesne, he gave thereunto all the street from the Northgate to the church, and a mill at the bridge. In Anglesey likewise two manors, one in Rhôs, and one in Wirrall, called Esberic. In Lindsay ten oxgangs*; after the decease of himself and his countess, Weston, in Derbyshire; and for the present the tithe of that manor, with the church of Eston, and two carucates of land; as also the tithes of corn and every thing else titheable in his manors of Elthorn, Frodsham, Weveresham, Lech, Roceestre, Harding, Coleshul, Bissopestred, Uppetune, Campeden, and Eastham; with the tithe of fish in Frodsham and Rodelent. And in Anglesey, not only the tithe of his demesne, but of the fisher-boats there, and all other his waters; with the like tithe of his fishing in Etthou, as also upon the river Dee, with one boat freely to be used there. To these ample concessions he likewise added the tithes of his mills in Daneford, and of all other things titheable there, with liberty to each of his principal barons to give c. s. per annum land thereto; and to all others, as much as they were able or willing to bestow: And further, that all his barons and knights might dispose of their bodies to sepulture therein, and give the third part of their goods thereto; granting the like liberty to all his burgesses and freemen. And to this charter was the said Anslem (then newly advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury) a witness, together with Harvey (bishop of Bangor) several monks, and divers eminent persons." [Here follows a number of other endowments by the earl's barons, &c.

by a small margin, and presenting the appearance of ten pages of the old English print. Two seals in green wax have been appended, one of which is mouldered away; the other, in good preservation, having on one side the figure of a man on horseback, brandishing a sword in his right hand.

* Oxgang (from *Ox*, i.e. *bos*, and *gang* or *gate*, iter) is commonly taken for fifteen acres of land, or as much as one ox can plow in a year.—*Jacob*.

&c. when this writer proceeds as follows:] “The said earl, continuing his wonted bounty thereto, added, not only the grant of fishing with one boat and ten nets in Anglesey, but gave them the toll and all the profits of the fair at the feast of St. Werburgh, for three days; appointing that for all forfeitures in the said fair, trial should be in the court of St. Werburgh, for the benefit of the monks: To the honour of which saint he likewise granted, that whatsoever thief or other malefactor came to the solemnity, should not be attached while he continued in the said fair, except he committed any new offence there.” It is then added, “that earl Hugh, the pious founder of this great monastery, whose affection thereto was such, and devotion so great towards his latter end, that three days before his death, he caused himself to be shorn a monk therein, and so departing the world the 6th cal. of August, anno 1101.”

The traditional circumstances connected with the patroness of this abbey, as related by Henry Bradshaw and others, have already been mentioned; that she was professed under her aunt, St. Ethelreda, at Ely, had the direction of several monasteries, and dying at Trentham, was buried at Hanbury in Staffordshire, in 690, from whence her bones were brought to Chester in 875, for greater security, on the advance of the Danish army to Repton, and deposited in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul. It is observable, however, that though the early circumstances connected with the abbey of St. Werburgh are detailed in the chronicles of that house, with considerable minuteness, no notice is taken of a church so dedicated, in relating the following occurrence:—“*Hieman-tibus Danis apud Repondon fugatoque rege Merciorum Burdredo, Hamburgenses sibi timentes, cum feretro corpus divæ Werburgæ, tunc primum in pulverem resolutum, ad Legecestriam tanquam ad locum tutissimum, contra stragem barbaricam confugerunt.*” Yet all authorities agree that in the reign of king Athelstan, a monastery of secular canons was established here in honour of

St. Werburgh and St. Oswald; and the chronicle states that in 1056, Leofric, earl of Chester (as he is styled), repaired the buildings of the convent, and bestowed upon it additional privileges. These canons, at the period of the Domesday survey, retained possession of the abbey, and of the lands with which the liberality of the Saxon monarchs, and the governors of Mercia had enriched them, and which then consisted of the entire vill, or portions of the vills of Saughton, Cheveley, Huntinton, Boughton, Idenshall, Wervin, Croughton, Wisdelea (unknown), Sutton in Wirral, Shotwick, Neston, Raby, Bridge Trafford, Ince, Mid-aston, Clifton, Adeslei (unknown), Pulford, Wepre, and Lache. They also held within Chester city, thirteen houses free from all customs, one of which appears to have been the residence of the warden, the remaining twelve being appropriated to the canons, who were probably of the same number: "*una est custodis ecclesiæ, aliæ sunt canonicorum.*"

Within this monastery in 1093, as already observed, Hugh earl of Chester, and Ermentrude, his countess, with the express consent of king William II. introduced a body of regular monks of the order of St. Benedict, to pray (as the foundation charter expresses it), for the soul of William then king, and those of king William his most noble father, his mother queen Maud, his brothers and sisters, king Edward the Confessor, themselves the founders, and those of their fathers, mothers, antecessors, heirs, parents, and barons, and of all Christians, living as deceased.* To these monks the earl restored the possessions of the secular canons, with additional immunities and grants, specified at large in the foundation charter; and the

* The monk Henry Bradshaw, speaking of Hugh Lupus's foundation, says—

"The founder also buylded within the monasterie,
Many mighty places convenient for religion
Compassed with stronge walles on the west partie,
And on the other syde, with walles of the towne,
Closed at every ende with a sure postron.
In south part the cimiterie environed rounde aboute,
For a sure defence ennemies to holde oute."

succeeding Norman earls, the barons of the palatinate and the inferior proprietors, added an enormous series of donations.

A list of the abbots of this monastery, from its foundation to the dissolution, follows, for which I am indebted to Dr. Ormerod.

Richard, 1st Abbot, had been monk of Bec, in Normandy, and chaplain to Anselm. He died April 26, 1117, and was buried in the east angle of the south cloister.

William, 2nd abbot, is stated in the chartulary to be elected abbot in 1121, the government of the church having been perhaps intermediately confided to Robert the prior, who died in 1120. He died 11th non. Oct. 1140, and was buried at the head of his predecessor.

Ralph, 3rd abbot, elected 11 cal. Feb. in the same year. He died Nov. 16, 1157, and was buried at the head of abbot Richard, and at the left side of abbot William.

Robert Fitz-Nigel, 4th abbot, supposed to be of the family of the barons of Halton, elected 1157, received the bishop's benediction at Lichfield on the day of St. Nicholas. He died in 1174, and was buried in the east cloister under a marble stone, to the right hand of the entrance to the chapter-house.

Robert, 5th abbot, elected on St. Werburgh's day, 3 non. Feb. 1174, received the benediction in the church of St. John, at Chester, on the day of St. Agatha the Virgin. This abbot obtained a bull from pope Clement, confirming the possessions of the abbey, and granting various privileges; and died 2 cal. Sep. 1184, on which the king took the abbey into his hands, and committed the custody of it to Thomas de Husseburne.

Robert de Hastings, 6th abbot, in 1186, was placed in this abbey by Henry II. and Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury. He received the benediction at Canterbury, from the hands of Baldwin, whom he had the honour of entertaining as legate, at Chester, in the next year, from St. John's-day to the following Sunday. This appointment was opposed by earl Randal, and after much

controversy before Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, Hastings was deposed, on the condition of Geoffry, who was elected in his room, paying him an annual pension of xx marks. This abbot was buried at the heads of his predecessors, William and Ralph, in the south cloister.

Geoffry, 7th abbot, was confirmed on the deposition of Hastings in 1194. The situation (from a document contained in the red book of the abbey) appears not to have been particularly enviable at this period. The greater part of the church was in ruins, and the rebuilding had proceeded no further than the choir, from want of money. The inroads of the Welsh had deprived the monks of a valuable rectory and two manors, and the inundations of the sea had been equally fatal in Wirral and Ince. Abbot Geoffry died May 7, 1208, and was buried in the chapter-house on the left hand of the entrance near the door.

Hugh Grylle, 8th abbot, was elected in 1208. He occurs as a witness to the marriage covenant of John, Earl of Chester, with Helen, daughter of Llewelyn, Prince of Wales; and many grants to the monastery were made in his time. The repairs of the church were probably completed, and their affairs in a more prosperous state generally, as Earl Randal grants to this abbot and his convent a permission to extend their buildings in the direction of the Northgate. Grylle died April 21, 1226, and was buried in the chapter-house under the second arch from the door on the left hand side of the feet of Geoffry.

William Marmion, 9th abbot, succeeded in 1226, and died in 1228. His place of interment is stated to be in the cloister, close to Robert Fitz-Nigel, on the left hand side of him. The name of this abbot occurs in a very curious document, relative to the office of hereditary cook of the abbey.

Walter Pincebeck, 10th abbot, received the benediction in London, on Michaelmas-day, 1228. This abbot is witness to the contract between Randal Blundeville and Roger de Marcey, respecting the lands between

Rible and Mersey, anno 1232. He continued to hold the abbey till 1240, when he was interred in the chapter-house at the head of Hugh Grylle. A short time before his death, he appropriated the rectory of Church Shotwick to support the increase of the kitchen expenses of the convent, occasioned by adding six monks to the previous number.

Robert Frind, 11th abbot, was consecrated at Coventry, by Hugh de Pateskul, bishop of that see on St. Matthew's day, 1240. He died 1249, and was buried in the chapter-house under the second arch, on the right hand of the door. This abbot added the appropriation of the chapel of Wervin to the funds of the kitchen, in consequence of having increased the number of his monks to forty.

Thomas Capenhurst, 12th abbot, succeeded in 1249. He was of the family of the mesne lords of Capenhurst, and had to struggle with a series of powerful enemies of the convent. The first was Roger de Montalt, justiciary of Chester, who endeavoured by means of the additional power which he enjoyed by his office, to wrest from the abbey restitution of the manors of Lawton, and Goose-trey, and the churches of Bruera, Neston, and Coddington, which had been given by his ancestors to the abbey. A portion of these possessions was occupied by an armed force, and the business was only compromised by severe sacrifices on the part of the monks. The resignation of Bretton manor is the only one noticed in the chronicle of the abbey, but the chartulary mentions several other losses, to which may certainly be added, that of Lea, in Broxton hundred, of which the Montalts had afterwards possession. The chronicle does not fail to notice the judgments of heaven on Roger de Montalt, that his eldest son died within fifteen days after the compromise, and that Roger himself died of want, his burial place remaining unknown unto the common people. A similar attempt to recover Astbury, was made by Roger Venables in 1259, and according to the Chronicle, was attended with an equal interposition of providence, the Baron of Kinderton dying the year after.

In 1263, another contest arose between the abbot and William la Zuche, justiciary, who occupied the abbey with an armed force, and proceeded to extremities of insult, which occasioned all the churches in Chester to be laid under an interdict. In the next year the gardens and buildings of the abbey in "Baggelson" were destroyed to facilitate the strengthening of Chester against a siege, which was apprehended from the barons and the Welshmen. Capenhurst survived this last grievance only one year, and dying 4 cal. May, 1265, was buried at the head of his predecessor, on the right hand of the entrance into the chapter-house. It is observable that however violent the measures were, to which the laity resorted at this period, for the purpose of wresting back from the church the possessions which the liberality of their ancestors had bestowed on it, the regular clergy themselves were little more scrupulous; witness the circumstances noticed in the contest between the abbots of Basingwerk and Chester, for the rectory of West Kirby, in which Ralph de Montalt, presented by this abbot, is positively stated to have been put into possession of his rectory in war time, by absolute force of arms.

Simon de Albo Monasterio, or *Whitchurch*, who had previously been a monk of this abbey, succeeded as 13th abbot, and if we may judge from the frequent occurrence of his name in the abbey chartulary, was one of the most active heads this monastery ever enjoyed. He was regularly elected by the entire convent xv cal. May, 1265, in the 45th year of his age, and the 22nd after assuming the cowl, Simon de Montford being then usurper of the earldom of Chester. His admission was opposed by Lucas de Taney, justiciary of Chester, who kept the abbey open for three weeks, and taking the revenues into his hands, wasted them by the most scandalous profligacy. Simon de Montfort, however, much to his honour, on hearing the circumstances, admitted the abbot, and directed Lucas de Taney to make ample compensation to the abbey, after which Roger de Menland, then bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, confirmed his election at Tachebrook, on Whit,

Monday, and Simon de Montford having invested him with the temporalities at Hereford the Monday following, the new abbot received the benediction from his before-mentioned diocesan at Tachebrooke, on Trinity Sunday. On this same day the partizans of prince Edward laid siege to Chester Castle, and a reverse of fortune speedily taking place, the election of the abbot was declared void by the lawful earl, as having been unratified by himself. The abbot, however, made his peace with prince Edward at Beeston, and compensation was made him at the instance of James de Audley, justiciary, even to the replacing from the stores in the castle, two casks of wine, which had been consumed by the prince's attendants, during this deposition. The struggles between the laity and the clergy, which are particularly observable in the documents of Vale Royal and this monastery about this period, and had so peculiarly disquieted the abbacy of Thomas de Capenhurst, were continued in that of his successor. Philip Burnel, and his wife Isabella, baroness of Malpas, attempted to recover the manors of Saughton, Hinton, Cheveley and Boughton, a domain as desirable to the abbey from its richness as its contiguity to Chester. After a protracted contest, the claimants released their right to abbot Simon in the king's court at Westminster, in 1281, in the royal presence, but the monks purchased the compliance by a bond for the payment of 200*l.* sterling. The chartulary states that the influence of Robert Burnel, bishop of Bath and Wells, and uncle to the claimant was corruptly used in obtaining this bond: payment was, however, never made, for the abbot had shortly afterwards the address to procure a release, on stipulating for the maintenance of two chaplains to pray for the soul of the said Philip Burnel for ever. Among the following donations by the family of Burnel, was the grant of a fountain at Christleton, which was doubtless of high importance. A cistern twenty feet square was made at Christleton, and another formed within the cloisters, and a communication established by pipes, which a patent from Edward I. enabled the monks to carry through all intervening lands;

permitting even the city walls to be taken down for the purpose. It is observable that a forester of Delamere, Randle de Merton, whose estate was trespassed on in consequence of this order, ventured on cutting off the pipes which the abbots had laid, for which he was ordered to make reparation by a royal mandate, 13 Edward I. This abbot departed this life April 24, 1289, aged 69, and was interred in the chapter-house, on the south side, under a marble stone, within an arch supported by six marble pillars. During this abbacy, the monastery, or a considerable portion thereof, was rebuilt, as appears by precepts directed to Reginald de Grey, 12 Edw. I. to allow venison from the forests of Delamere and Wirral for the support of the monks then occupied "on the great work of the building of the church." Abbot Simon also appropriated a large share of the revenues of the abbey to the several uses of the infirmary, the kitchen, the refectory, and the distribution of alms, as specified in the chartulary. After the death of Simon de Whitchurch, the king retained the abbey in his hands two years.

Thomas de Byrche-Hylles, a chaplain of his predecessor, succeeded as 14th abbot, Jan. 30, 1291. He died 1323, and was buried on the south side of the choir, above the bishop's throne, nearly in the line of the pillars. On his gravestone was a brass plate with his effigies, and in this spot his body was found in almost complete preservation, on opening a grave for the remains of dean Smith, in 1787.

William de Bebington, 15th abbot, previously prior of the monastery, was elected abbot Feb. 5, 1324. In 1345, he obtained the mitre for himself and his successors, and in the year following, an exemption from the visitation. He died Nov. 20, 1349, and was buried on the right side of his predecessor.

Richard Seynesbury, 16th abbot, was elected 1349. In 1359, he stated the privileges of his abbey in plea to a writ of quo warranto. In 1362, about the feast of the Annunciation, the abbot of St. Alban's, provincial president of the Benedictines, the prior of Croyland, and the

superior of St. Alban's, visited Chester Abbey as commissioners, deputed by the abbot of Evesham. In consequence of this visitation, Richard de Seynesbury, who (according to the chronicle) was fearful of a scrutiny into his offences and excessive dilapidations, resigned his abbey into the hands of the pope, as the abbey, being an exempt, was under the papal protection. An inquiry into his conduct was instituted at Rome, and in the following year pope Urban admitted the abbot's resignation, and conferred the office on his successor. This abbot died in Lombardy.

Thomas de Newport, 17th abbot, received the benediction in the papal court on the feast of the Annunciation, and was installed at Chester on the day of St. Remigius following. This abbot died at his manor-house of Little Sutton, in Wirral, June 1, 1385, and was buried in the chapter-house, within the inner door, with his effigy in brass upon the stone.

William de Mershton, 18th abbot, formerly a monk of this convent, was elected abbot July 30, 1385. He died on the 13th of January following, and was buried without the choir, on the right of William de Bebington, in the south aisle.

Henry de Sutton, 19th abbot. He occurs as abbot in 1410, which was the 24th year of his presiding over this monastery, as appears by the pleas of the abbey, holden over the monastery gate, before Nicholas Fare, the abbot's seneschal. This abbot was for a time justice of Chester, and in 1399 had license to fortify his three manor-houses, at Little Sutton, Saughton, and Ince. He was buried in the broad aisle, close to the north side of the south pillar, next to the entrance into the choir, before a painting formerly called the Piety of St. Mary.

Thomas Yerdasley, 20th abbot, occurs as abbot in several portmote pleadings, 7 Henry V. and is mentioned also several times in the reign of Henry VI. He was one of the justices in commission to hold assizes for the county, and dying 1434, was buried under a marble stone on the north side of the choir, above the shrine of St. Werburgh.

John Salghall, 21st abbot, suffered excommunication in 1450, for not appearing in convocation after being personally cited; but afterwards appearing and pleading exemption, he was absolved. This abbot died in 1452, and was buried in St. Mary's chapel, between two pillars on the south side, under an alabaster stone, which had his effigy in brass fixed upon it. The site of his interment was formerly called the chapel of St. Erasmus.

Richard Oldham, 22nd abbot, 1452; about twenty years afterwards he was promoted to the bishopric of the Isle of Man, and dying Oct. 13, 1485, was buried at Chester abbey; a short time before which he was indicted in the portmote court, for removing the city boundaries about the Northgate, and at the same time (21 Edw. IV,) "divers wymen" were indicted, who were the paramours "of the monkes of Chester."

Simon Ripley, 23rd abbot, rebuilt the nave, tower, and south transept of the abbey, and probably commenced the great plan of alterations and improvements which were interrupted by the reformation. This abbot also rebuilt or considerably improved the great manor-house at Saigh-ton, the embattled tower of which is still remaining. He died at Warwick, August 30, 1492, and was buried in the collegiate church there. On the north side of the north-east large pillar, supporting the central tower, was formerly painted the history of the transfiguration, in which was introduced a figure of this abbot under a canopy, with a book in one hand, the other lifted up in the act of blessing, and the ring upon the fourth finger.

John Birchenshaw, was appointed 24th abbot by the pope, Oct. 4, 1493. He is supposed by Willis to have been a native of Wales, from his name appearing in an inscription on the great bell of Conway church. His attention, like that of his predecessor, was turned to restoring the magnificence of the buildings of the abbey. The beautiful western entrance is his work, and he doubtless intended to have added two western towers to this great entrance, of one of which he laid the foundations in 1508. The hall of Ince manor-house is apparently in the

style of this abbot's time; and for the further improvement of Saughton manor-house, which had already been sumptuously restored by his predecessor, he obtained, 6 Henry VIII. the royal licence to impark 1000 acres in Huntington, Cheveley, and Saughton. At the same time he had charter of free warren granted in all his lands in Cheshire, not being parcel of the king's forests. In the year 1511, in the mayoralty of Thomas Smith, violent dissensions had arisen between the city and this abbot. Thomas Hyphile, and Thomas Marshall, were successively appointed, and acted as abbots in his room. After a contest, however, which lasted many years, Birchenshaw was restored about 1530, and is supposed to have enjoyed his abbacy to the time of his death, which happened about seven years afterwards. In 1516, a commission was issued at Rome to Thomas, Cardinal of York, to hear and make award between Geoffry, Bishop of Lichfield, and this abbot, respecting the use of the mitre, crosier, and other pontificals, and the giving the blessing.

John Clarke, 25th and last abbot (omitting Hyphile and Marshall), was elected about the year 1537. He had the good fortune to comply with the wishes of his sovereign at the dissolution, and accordingly was suffered to retain the government of the dissolved abbey of St. Werburgh, under the character of dean of the new cathedral, which King Henry established within its walls. At the dissolution, the clear yearly value of the abbey was 800*l.* 18*s.** The monks had also the patronage of several rich unappropriated rectories. Their lands extended over various parts of Cheshire and other counties, but in Wirral created an overwhelming influence, and extended in almost an unbroken ring round the city of Chester. Many considerable families held lands by the tenure of various offices in the abbey. The manerial lord of Burwardsley was their champion; and a valuable rectory (Ince) was appropriated to the uses of the almoner. The Earl of Derby was seneschal at the time of the dissolution. By

* The Lysons give the income at £1003. 5*s.* 11*d.*

a charter of one of the earls of the name of Randal, the abbots were directed at any period to have their mansion houses fitted up in a state fit to receive the abbot's retinue and to be the seats of the courts; and by licence from the bishops of Lichfield, oratories were also established in these manor-houses. Irby, Bromborough, Sutton, and Saughton, appear to have been the principal ones at an early period. The three first were the original seats of the courts held for the Wirral manor, and Saughton occurs in a licence for fortifying by Edward I. noticed in the chartulary. By a subsequent licence for fortifying, 19 Richard II. it appears that Sutton, Saughton, and Ince, had then become the principal manorial residences, and these continued such to the dissolution.

King Henry VIII. having engaged in a mortal quarrel with the pontiff, pressed on the reformation in England with the utmost vigour. It was obvious, however, that so long as the monastic establishments remained, the influence of the Romish church would be sufficiently powerful to thwart the inclinations of the monarch, and retard the consolidation of the reformed religion. These seminaries had become haunts of sloth and debauchery, and they had moreover absorbed a considerable portion of the wealth of the kingdom. The rapacity and caprices of the king happily concurred with the spirit of the times, and the interests of the nation, and the destruction, first of the lesser, and then of the greater monasteries followed, with but a feeble and ineffectual opposition from any quarter. The monastery of St. Werburgh, at Chester, shared the fate of the others. This was, however, at the same time converted into a cathedral, and Chester, being separated from the see of Lichfield, was erected into an independent bishopric. It was, however, despoiled of its most valuable possessions; for John Bird, the first bishop, was obliged to part with all the demesnes and royalties,

and to accept in lieu thereof impropriations and rectories, which are the sole endowments of the see to this day, there being not one acre of temporalities, except the episcopal palace of Chester. The endowment of the bishopric by Henry VIII. in 1541, is as follows:—

“The king grants to the bishop of Chester, by him newly erected, Chester and Richmond archdeaconries, with all the appurtenances, rights, &c. the manors of Abbots Cotton, county of Chester, lands in the parishes of St. Mary, St. Michael, St. Werburgh, and Trinity, in Chester; city lands in Mancot, Harden, Christleton, Nantwich, Northwich, Middlewich, Over, Wollaston, Neston, Heswell, Bidston, Sandbough, *i. e.* Sandbach, Thornton, Eccleston, Rosthern, and Davenham, parcel of St. Werburgh’s late monastery, the advowson of Over rectory, pensions issuing out of Handley rectory, Budworth chapel, and Bidston rectory; parcel of Birkenhead abbey, advowson of Tattenhall and Waverton; rectories of Clapham, Esingwold, Thornton, Stuart, Bolton-in-Lonsdale, Bolton-le-moor, and prebend of Bolton-le-moor, in Lichfield cathedral; the manor of Weston, county of Derby; prebend to the bishop and his successors. Teste, Aug. 5th.” Mr. Warton remarks, that Chester bishopric was first founded July 16th, 1541, but on account of some mistake, a new charter was granted on Aug. 5th.

The impropriations and advowsons which Bishop Bird was obliged to accept, in lieu of the manors and real estates mentioned in the above endowment, were specified by patent, bearing date Jan. 8, 1546, 38th Henry VIII. and was as follows:—“The king, in consideration of Weston, and other manors, grants to the Bishop of Chester the following rectories, and advowsons of the vicarages of Cottingham, county of York; Kirby, Ravensworth, Babrick Brompton, Wirklington, Ribchester, Chipping Mottrum, Bradley, county of Stafford; Castleton, county of Derby; Wallasey, Weverham, Backford, Boden, yielding and paying as a chief rent 15*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* The bishop was patron of his six prebends and two archdeaconries, with about thirty livings, all in his own

diocese, except the following: Llangwden, V. county Carmarthen; Llanbeblig, V. Carnarvon; Castleton, V. county of Derby; Esingwold, V. county of York, in York diocese; and Bradley-le-moor, county of Stafford; but this last the bishop has not presented for several years. At the time that King Henry founded the bishopric, and erected the monastery into a cathedral, he endowed the dean and chapter with various lands and benefices, which will be hereafter enumerated, according to the original patent.

The diocese of Chester contains two archdeaconries, in which are 598 churches and chapels; of which the archdeaconry includes twelve deaneries, embracing 319 churches and chapels; and the archdeaconry of Richmond, eight deaneries, and 279 churches and chapels: it comprizes the whole of Cheshire and Lancashire; part of the counties of York, Cumberland, and Westmoreland; four parishes in Flintshire, and a chapelry (Iscoyd) in Denbighshire. The greatest length of the diocese is 120 miles; the greatest width 90; and the length of the boundary line 570 miles.*

Of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the diocese, the following statement may be relied on as correct, having been furnished by an intelligent gentleman, W. Ward, Esq. deputy registrar of Chester. "The jurisdiction of course corresponds as to its general nature, with that of every other diocese, and it will be only necessary to state the divisions of authority of the respective officers, whose appointments are all derived from the bishop. The vicar-general, or chancellor, as he is usually termed, has always the most extensive, and sometimes the only jurisdiction throughout the diocese; that is, upon every occasion of the bishop's general visitation of his diocese, his lordship previously inhibits his other officers (to be hereafter named) for six months, during which period all the proceedings of the diocese pass under the name of the

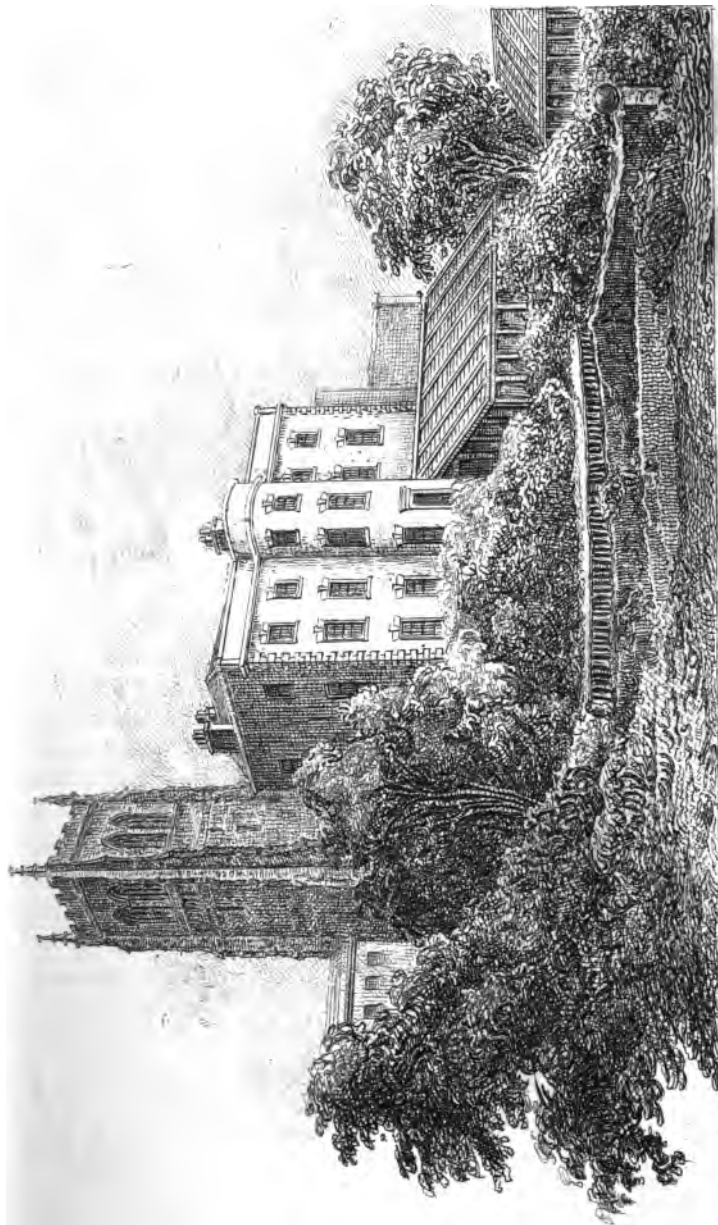
* A map of this extensive diocese was published in the time of Bishop Peppes.

chancellor, and all the fees are payable to him. At other times the principal jurisdiction of the archdeaconry of Richmond is vested in another officer, who is styled the commissary, who holds a spiritual court at Richmond, for the decision of all ecclesiastical suits arising within that part of the diocese, proves wills, grants marriage licences, and exercises most other authorities within his department; and against his decision no appeal lies either to the chancellor or bishop, but only to the provincial court at York. The chief difference in the general powers of the chancellor and the commissary is, that the acts of the latter would be complete nullities as to any thing within the archdeaconry of Chester; for instance, the probate of a will by the commissary of Richmond, though of a person dying within that archdeaconry, would have no operation as to his effects within the archdeaconry of Chester; neither can the commissary grant any licence for marriage in any church within the archdeaconry of Chester: but on the other hand, it has been determined, that *any property within the latter archdeaconry* is sufficient to found the chancellor's jurisdiction over the *whole effects within the diocese, of a person dying in either archdeaconry*, and that his licences are available for marriage, in *any church within the diocese, when either of the parties resides within the archdeaconry of Chester*. The modern archdeacons have no jurisdiction whatever attached to their appointments, but the archdeacon of Chester usually holds also the office of general rural dean of the archdeaconry of Chester, which is rather of modern institution; for it appears, that previous to the time of Bishop Bridgman (1619), there was a rural dean for each of the eight deanries, but that these places had become the subject of traffic and great abuse, being sometimes (strange as it may appear) even held by females, on which account they were united by that bishop into one office, to which is attached the right of proving all wills, &c. (except of clergymen and esquires) where the effects are below 40*l.* of holding a court of visitation for swearing in the churchwardens, and receiving their presentments, &c. In the archdeaconry of

Richmond, the office of rural dean is merged in that of the commissary, the title of rural dean being never used there in any proceeding."

Among the revenues of the archdeaconry of Chester, were certain mortuaries, due, by ancient custom, on the death of every rector, and vicar within his jurisdiction; namely, the best horse, or mare, with the bridle and saddle, boots and spurs; the best hat; the best book; the best upper-garment, cloak, gown, or coat; cassock, doublet and breeches; girdle, shoes, and stockings; best tippet, garters, shirt, band, and cuffs; gloves, seal, ring, purse, and all the money in it at the time of his death. In the 21st year of King Henry VIII. an act of parliament passed for the relief of poor people, and other persons of the realm, from the payment of excessive mortuaries, which for the future were to be regulated, according to the value of the personal property of the deceased; but the ancient rights of the archdeacons of Chester, to the above-mentioned mortuaries from the clergy, though more oppressive, perhaps, than any others, were by that act recognized and confirmed; and it was not till the year 1755, that the Cheshire clergy were relieved from this burden, when an act of parliament passed by which these mortuaries were abolished, and the rectory of Waverton annexed to the see of Chester in lieu thereof, to take place on the first vacancy, or avoidance of that rectory.*

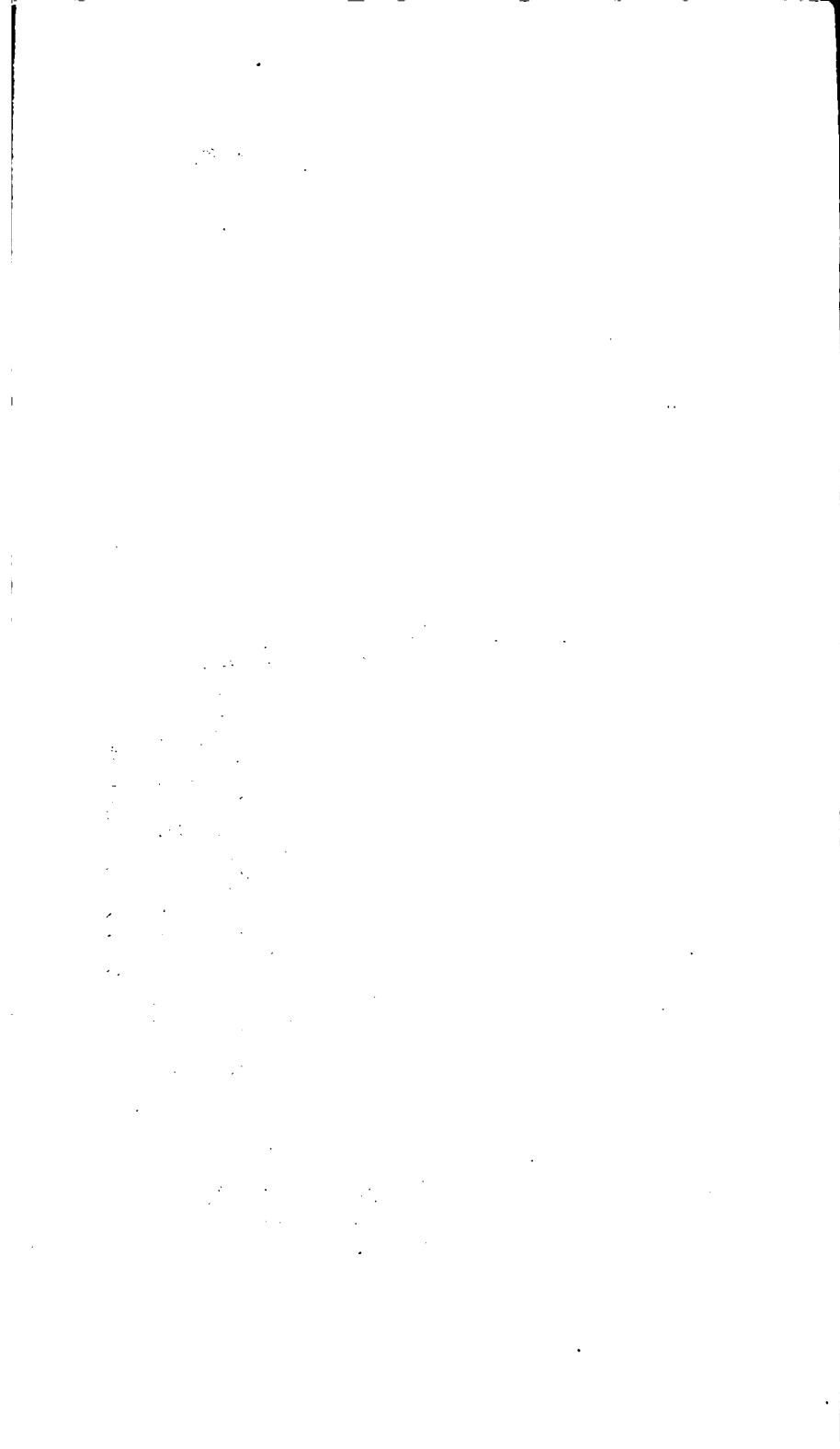
* Among the temporalities belonging to the archdeacon (of Chester) was a messuage near St. John's church, called the *archdeacon's house*, formerly the residence of the archdeacons. This messuage was leased to the Brereton family in the reign of Henry VIII. It was rebuilt between forty and fifty years ago, afterwards became the residence of Edward Vernon, Esq. by whom it was sold to the late Alderman Williams, at whose death it was purchased of his representatives, in 1825, by Archdeacon Wrangham, prebendary of Chester, the present occupant and proprietor. Bishop Peploe built another house in the adjoining orchard, now the property (as lessee) of William Ward, Esq. deputy registrar of the diocese. These beautiful mansions are situated upon an elevated ridge of ground above the Groves, the south front commanding a delightful view of the Dee, and an extensive range of fine country. This site was usually called *Dee-bank*, or *Dee-side*, but as there are several other places which bore these denominations, it is now known by the name of *St. John's Place*.



Engraved by Macgregor.

For Hemmingsway, Chester.

South View of the Residence of ARCHDEACON WRANGHAM in St. John's Place, Chester.



LIST OF THE BISHOPS OF CHESTER,

SINCE THE FOUNDATION,

WITH BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

I. *John Bird, S. T. P.* who had, on account of some sermons he preached against the supremacy of the pope, recommended himself so much to King Henry's favour, that he was made Bishop of Bangor, and afterwards by that prince translated to Chester,* on his founding the bishopric, at which time it was made suffragan to Canterbury; but on the 13th of April following, 1542, it was subjected to York, and Bishop Bird made his profession of obedience to that archbishop. It has already been noticed, that in 1546, he granted away all the manors and demesnes of this bishopric, accepting impropriations in lieu. Notwithstanding this, for which he was no doubt highly bribed by the courtiers, he was in 1553, on the accession of Queen Mary, so considerably in debt, that he owed 108*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* for tenths and subsidies, which was a great sum in those days, and it probably would not have been remitted to him but through the interest of Bishop Bonner, with whom he complied in every respect, as he had done in all changes of government or religion, and would doubtless have been suffered to keep his bishopric, had he not broken his vow of celibacy, which was, as records mention, the occasion of his deprivation in 1554. After this, retiring to London, he was, by Bishop Bonner, made rector of Great Dunmow, Essex, where he died, aged about 81, and was buried in that church, without any memorial. He was succeeded in his bishopric by

* There have been but few instances besides this of a translation from any see to Chester, since that period. The surrender by this prelate of the temporal endowments, left the diocese of Chester one of the poorest in the kingdom, though of the greatest extent.

II. *George Cotes, S. T. P.* master of Baliol College, Oxford, and rector of one of the mediocres of Cotgreave, county of Nottingham, who was consecrated to the see April 1st, 1554, on the voluntary resignation, as it is expressed in the patent, of John Bird. Fox, in his *Acts and Monuments*, severely and justly censures this bishop, during whose prelacy the martyr, George Marsh, was tried and condemned by the spiritual court, for his adherence to the Protestant faith, and burnt alive at Boughton. His intemperate zeal in favour of popery seems to have been the only blot in his character. He died at Chester, about January, 1555, and was obscurely buried in the Cathedral, near the bishop's throne. He was succeeded by

III. *Cuthbert Scot, D. D.* and master of Christchurch College, in Cambridge, who was made bishop by Queen Mary, 1556. He was vice-chancellor of Cambridge in 1554 and 1555, one of the delegates commissioned by Cardinal Pole to visit that university, and one of the four bishops who, with as many divines, undertook to defend the doctrines of the church of Rome against an equal number of reformed divines. On the Tuesday following (April 4) he, with most of his fellow-disputants, was sent to the Tower for some abusive threats, and irreverent expressions, uttered against the queen, but was afterwards admitted to bail. On the 20th of the same month, Bishop Scot spoke warmly against the act of uniformity, and was one of nine prelates, who with as many temporal peers, entered their dissent. He was dismissed from his bishopric by Queen Elizabeth; and being put into the prison of the Fleet, in London, he effected his escape from thence, and fled to Louvain, where he died.

IV. *William Downham*, chaplain to Queen Elizabeth before she came to the crown, D. D. and some time of Magdalen College, in Oxford, was consecrated Bishop of Chester May 4, 1561. He died November, 1577, and was buried in the choir of the Cathedral church at Chester, having sat bishop sixteen years and a half. He had two

famous sons, George, Bishop of Londonderry, in Ireland, and John, bachelor of divinity, a learned and laborious writer.

V. *William Chaderton, D. D.* fellow of Christ's College, in Cambridge, and afterwards president of Queen's College, and some time the king's professor of divinity in that university, was consecrated Bishop of Chester 9th November, 1579, and thence translated to Lincoln, 1595. He was Bishop of Chester sixteen years, and had only one daughter and heir, called Jane, the first wife of Sir Richard Brooke, of Norton, in Chester, but these afterwards parted, and lived asunder. This bishop was a learned and witty man, and died in April, 1608. In Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, is a very large collection of letters to this bishop, (as one of the commissioners for causes ecclesiastical) chiefly relative to the Cheshire and Lancashire recusants. The castle of Chester is stated to be too near the sea, and the recusants were therefore mostly kept in the "new fleete at Manchester," the inhabitants of it being "generally well affected in religion." In one letter from the Earl of Huntingdon is a curious passage, relative to the residence of the bishop there. "I am glad your lordship liketh to live in Manchester, for as it is the best place in those parts, soe you do well to continue and strengthen them, that they maie increase and go forward in the service of the Lord. And surelie by the grace of God, the wellplaintinge of the gospell in Manchester, and the places nere to yt, shall in time effect much good in other places." The entire number of recusants then in England was 8512, of whom 2442 were in the diocese of Chester.

VI. *Hugh Bellot, D. D.* and Bishop of Bangor, was translated to Chester 1595. He lived scarce one year after his translation, died about Whitsuntide, 1596, and was buried at Wrexham. In some accounts he is said to have had such strict ideas, as never to permit a woman to inhabit or lie in his house.

VII. *Richard Vaughan*, Archdeacon of Middlesex; Canon of Wells, and Bishop of Bangor; translated from thence May 16th, 1597. While at Chester, being a man of public spirit, he very much promoted the reparation of the Cathedral, as he had before that of Bangor; he caused the bells to be new cast, and hung in the great tower, all the west roof to be new leaded, and the timber work repaired. In December, 1604, he was translated to London, where he died March 30, 1607, and was buried in that cathedral without any memorial. On his translation, he was succeeded by

VIII. *George Lloyd*, rector of Thornton and Bangor, in this diocese, and Bishop of the Isle of Man, was consecrated Bishop of Chester 4th January, 1605. He died the first of August, 1615, in the 55th year of his age, at his parsonage of Thornton, and was buried in the choir of the cathedral church of Chester, near to Bishop Downham, with a Latin inscription on a plate of brass, which is given in Webb's itinerary, but the plate has long since been stolen from his grave-stone.*

IX. *Thomas Moreton*, son of Richard Moreton, of York, D. D. brought up in St. John's College, in Cambridge, and sometime Dean of Winchester, was consecrated Bishop of Chester 7th July, 1616, translated hence to Lichfield and Coventry 1618, and thence to Durham 1632. He died 22nd September, 1659, aged 95, after having written many learned treatises. He was never married. At the ceremony of his consecration, as Bishop of Chester, there were present three archbishops, twelve bishops, above thirty noblemen, and upwards of eighty

* Upon the demise of Bishop Lloyd, *Gerard Massie*, rector of Wigan, was nominated by King James to this see; but taking a journey to London, to settle matters preparatory to his consecration, he there sickened and died, and was buried in the church of St. Mary le Savoy, in Westminster, without any memorial. His name is of course omitted in the catalogue of Chester prelates.

procession to the episcopal palace at Chester. With this see he held the rectory of Stafford; and with great zeal applied himself to the reconciling popish recusants and conscientious nonconformists to the established church, his success in which was noticed in the royal declaration in 1618. After sustaining with exemplary patience, confiscation, imprisonment, and other severe hardships, he took refuge at the seat of Sir Henry Yelverton, Bart. at Easton Manduit, in Northamptonshire, where he died. He was buried in that parish church, having an epitaph placed upon his tomb, illustrative of his rare virtues.

X. *John Bridgeman*, rector of Wigan and Bangor in this diocese, prebend of Lichfield and Coventry, elected bishop 15th March, 1618-19. He lived to see the order to which he belonged swept away by the frenzy of the puritanical party, and his sovereign brought to the block. Having largely shared in the troubles of the times, he died, as recorded by Sir Peter Leycester, at his son's seat, Little Moreton, near Oswestry, and was buried at Kinnerley church. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Heyar, by whom he had issue four sons, one of whom, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, was made lord keeper in 1667, and another, Dove Henry, was afterwards dean of Chester. This prelate was the compiler of a valuable work, relating to the ecclesiastical antiquities of this diocese, now carefully preserved in the episcopal registry, and usually denominated *Bishop Bridgeman's Leger*.

XI. *Briar Walton*, was born at Cleveland, in Yorkshire; he was brought up in Peterhouse, in Cambridge, and consecrated bishop of Chester in December, 1660, upon the restoration of King Charles the Second. He died Nov. 29, 1661, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, with a Latin inscription on his monument, affixed against the south wall on one side the choir. In the early part of his life this prelate kept a school, and officiated as a curate in Suffolk; but as his

great abilities developed themselves, he obtained successively the livings of St. Martin's Organ in London, Sandon, Essex, and St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, and when he was advanced to the degree of D. D. in 1639, was prebendary of St. Paul's, and chaplain to the king. Having taken an active part against the republican party, he was declared a delinquent by the parliament in the disturbances that followed, deprived of his livings by sequestration, and fled for personal safety to Oxford, where he was incorporated Aug. 12, 1645. It was at this period, that Dr. Walton entered upon his laborious work, the Polyglot Bible, which he prosecuted, with various interruptions from the ruling powers, in the house of Dr. Fuller, whose daughter he had married; and having completed his Herculean task, the work was published in 1657. Soon after the restoration, the Polyglot was presented to the king, who immediately made him his chaplain in ordinary, and promoted him to the see of Chester, where his arrival was hailed with such general demonstrations of honour as had seldom been witnessed on any similar occasion. His enjoyment of this dignity, however, was but of short duration, as already mentioned. In addition to the Polyglot, he published, *Introductio ad Lectionem Linguarum Orientalium*, 8vo. 1655.

XII. *Henry Ferne*, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, dean of Ely, archdeacon of Leicester, and rector of Medbourne, in that county, consecrated Feb. 7th; he died March 16th, 1662, and was buried in St. Edmond's chapel, in Westminster abbey. In November, 1642, he published his "*Case of Conscience, touching rebellion*," said to be the first book printed on behalf of the royal cause. In the rebellion that succeeded, Ferne was driven from Medbourne, and afterwards from Newark, and then joining the king, at his request, during his imprisonment in the Isle of Wight, was the last of his chaplains that preached before him. After the restoration, he was honoured and enriched with numerous dignities.

XIII. *George Hall*, one of the sons of Dr. Joseph Hall, bishop of Exeter, was some time of Exeter College, in Oxford, D. D. and consecrated bishop of Chester in 1662. He was also parson of Wigan, in Lancashire, by the gift of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, then chief justice of the common pleas. This bishop married Gartred, sister to Sir Amos Meredith, now of Ashley, in Cheshire. He died at Wigan, Aug. 23, 1668, without issue. Bishop Hall was a considerable benefactor to Exeter College, and the author of several sermons, and of a treatise, entitled, "The Triumphs of Rome over Despised Protestantism." His death was occasioned by a wound received from a knife, which happened to be in his pocket, as he accidentally fell from a mount in his garden at Wigan.

XIV. *John Wilkins*, D. D. son of Walter Wilkins, a goldsmith in the city of Oxford, was first student of Christ church, and after made warden of Wadham college, in the same university. He married Robina, sister to Oliver Cromwell, lord protector, by whom he had no issue. He was made master of Trinity College, in Cambridge, about the year 1659, and after the restoration of King Charles the Second, he was made dean of Ripon, in Yorkshire, and was consecrated bishop of Chester in 1668. He was also parson of Wigan, by the gift of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, the lord-keeper of England. On the breaking out of the civil war, he joined the parliament, took the solemn league and covenant, and being made warden of Wadham College, by the committee for reforming the university, was elected B. D. April 12, 1648, and put in possession of his wardenship the day following. Next year he was created D. D. and about that time took the engagement enjoined by the ruling powers. After this he had a dispensation from the protector to retain his wardenship, which would otherwise, according to the statutes, have been vacated by marriage. Having been made master of Trinity College, Cambridge, by Richard Cromwell, in 1659, he was ejected at the restoration, but was subsequently made preacher at Gray's Inn, rector of

St. Lawrence Jewry, dean of Ripon, and in 1668, bishop of Chester, on which occasion, Dr. Tillotson, who had married his daughter-in-law, preached his consecration sermon. His death occurred at Dr. Tillotson's house, in Chancery-lane, London, Nov. 19, 1672. Considering the course of politics pursued by Wilkins, his subsequent elevation to dignities, affords a rare instance of moderation and forbearance on the part of Charles the Second, though all writers who have mentioned him concur in speaking highly of his learning, and personal character. Anthony Wood, who will never be suspected of partiality towards his political tenets, delineates him in the following terms :—" He was a person endowed with rare gifts ; he was a noted theologist and preacher, a curious critic in several matters, an excellent mathematician and experimentalist ; and one as well seen in mechanism and new philosophy, of which he was a great promoter, as any man of his time. He also highly advanced the study and perfecting of astronomy, both at Oxford, while he was warden of Wadham College, and at London, while he was fellow of the Royal Society, and I cannot say that there was any thing deficient in him, but a constant mind, and settled principles."

XV. *John Pearson, D. D.* born Feb. 12, 1612, at Snoring, in Norfolk, of which place his father was rector. He was first of Eton school, from thence he was removed to King's College, Cambridge. In 1639 he entered into orders, and was collated to a prebend in the church of Sarum. Being appointed chaplain to Lord Finch, in 1640, he was presented by him to the living of Torrington, in Suffolk. On the breaking out of the civil war, he became chaplain to Lord Goring, whom he attended in the army, and was afterwards chaplain to Sir Robert Cook, in London. In 1650, he was made minister of St. Clement's, in Eastcheap. Soon after the restoration, Bishop Juxon presented him with the rectory of St. Christopher's in London, created D. D. at Cambridge, in pursuance of the king's letters mandatory, installed prebendary of

Ely, archdeacon of Surrey (which he held in commendam with Wigan, in Lancashire), and made master of Jesus College, Cambridge, all before the end of 1660. In the following year he succeeded Dr. Love in the Margaret professorship of that university, and early in 1662 was nominated one of the commissioners for the review of the liturgy, in the conference of the Savoy. In April of the same year, he was made F. R. S. and was consecrated bishop of Chester Feb. 9, 1672-3. This distinguished prelate had subsequently the misfortune to lose his memory, and became, as Bishop Burnet observes, an affecting instance "of what a great man can fall to; for his memory went from him so entirely, that he became a child some years before he died." He died at Chester July 16, 1686, and was buried within the altar rails of his cathedral, without any memorial. Among the esteemed works of Bishop Pearson is an Exposition of the Creed, which has been frequently reprinted, and translated into Latin, by Simon Joannes Arnoldus. Bishop Burnet has pronounced him to be "in all respects the greatest divine of his age;" and Dr. Bentley is said to have declared, that "his very dross was gold."

XVI. *Thomas Cartwright*, vicar of Walthamstow and Barking, Essex, prebendary of London, Wells, and Durham, consecrated to this see, with leave to hold Wigan rectory, Oct. 17th, 1686. Dr. Cartwright was one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, appointed by James Second, in his memorable contest with the fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, and was so warm a defender of that sovereign's measures, that on the landing of the Prince of Orange, he was forced to fly to France, to avoid the insults of an enraged populace. He was subsequently nominated by James to the see of Salisbury, accompanied him to Ireland, and dying of a dysentery in 1689, was interred with great pomp at Christ church, Dublin. Being visited on his death-bed by the titular bishop of Clogher, and the new dean of Christ church, he expressed his faith in equivocal terms, leaving it doubtful whether

he died in the communion of the protestant or popish church.

XVII. *Nicholas Stratford*, consecrated 15th September, 1689. The character of this bishop is so amply commemorated by the inscription on his monument, which his son, Archbishop Stratford, erected to his memory, and which may still be found among the monuments in the choir of the cathedral, that little more need be said of him. The care which this worthy bishop paid to the repairs of his cathedral, and the interest which he took in the establishment of the Chester Blue Coat Hospital, are topics of well-merited eulogy. He died the 12th of February, 1706-7, and was buried on the north side of the high altar, in the cathedral.

XVIII. *Sir William Dawes, Bart. D. D.* first fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and afterwards master of Katherine Hall, Cambridge, prebendary of Worcester, and dean of Bocking; consecrated to this see Feb. 8, 1707. He was translated to York Feb. 26, 1713. This bishop is said to have been most scrupulously laborious in discharging the duties of his high offices, uniting easiness of manners with the most dignified deportment, and recommended by all the personal qualifications of personal gracefulness. After remaining archbishop ten years, he died April 30, 1724, and was buried in the chapel of Katherine Hall, Cambridge, near his lady, to whom he had erected a handsome monument.

XIX. *Francis Gastrell, D. D.* descended from an ancient family in Berkshire, was born 1662, educated at Westminster school, and from thence elected student of Christ church, Oxford, of which he afterwards became canon, preacher to the hon. society of Lincoln's Inn, and chaplain to the house of commons; consecrated bishop of Chester April 19, 1714. In this high office, he deemed it his duty to refuse to admit the Rev. Samuel Peploe to the wardenship of Manchester, to which he had been

nominated by the crown, and for which, on the recommendation of the primate, he had qualified himself by the Lambeth degree of B. D. instead of proceeding regularly at his university, as he himself had intended. It was not probable that Mr. Peploe could have experienced any difficulty in obtaining his degree at Oxford, and the bishop of Chester, at the same time that he insisted on qualification by the regular degree, offered his interest to obtain it, if any unforeseen difficulty should occur. The matter was however carried to the King's Bench, and a decision given against the bishop, who thereupon published, "The Bishop of Chester's Case, with regard to the wardenship of Manchester, in which it is shewn, that no other degrees but what are taken in the university can be deemed legal qualification for any ecclesiastical preferment in England." After the publication of this at Oxford, the university decreed in full convocation, March 22, 1720, that solemn thanks should be returned to the bishop for having so fully asserted the rights, privileges, and dignities belonging to the university degrees in that book. It is worthy of observation, that through the interference of Bishop Gastrell, the collections of the Randal Holmes's was preserved to the public. In the first instance, they had been offered for sale to the corporation, who declined the purchase, when the bishop recommended them to the Earl of Oxford, by whom they were bought. From these and his episcopal registers, Dr. Gastrell compiled his excellent M. S. compendium of documents relating to the benefices of the diocese, entitled, "Notitia Cestriensis." He died Nov. 24, 1725, and was buried without memorial in the cathedral church of Christ Church, Oxford.

XX. *Samuel Peploe, S. T. P.* who by a singular coincidence succeeded his learned adversary, was of an ancient family in Shropshire, and educated at Penkridge, in that county; afterwards entered as batter of Jesus College, Oxford, where he proceeded M. A. and being admitted into holy orders, was presented to the rectory of Kedleston, in Derbyshire, and subsequently to the

vicarage of Preston, in Lancashire, where during the rebellion, in 1715, he distinguished himself by a loyal attachment to the cause of King George the First, who not long afterwards was pleased to appoint him to succeed Dr. Richard Wroe, as warden of the collegiate church of Manchester. Under the circumstances before-mentioned, he was nominated to the see of Chester April 4, 1726, and consecrated on the 26th of the same month, at St. Margaret's, Westminster. This bishop erected two galleries in the choir of the cathedral; one on the south side in 1745, and a corresponding one on the north in 1749. He died bishop of Chester in 1752, and was buried in the choir of the cathedral, on the south side of the altar, with a latin inscription on white marble, opposite the monument of Bishop Stratford.

XXI. *Edmund Keene*, who was educated at the charter-house, and admitted of Caius College, Cambridge in 1730, fellow of Peter house 1739, afterwards rector of Stanhope, and master of Peter house. In January, 1752, he was consecrated bishop of Chester, and in 1770 translated to Ely. He died July 6, 1781, in the 68th year of his age, and was buried, at his own desire, in Bishop West's chapel, in Ely cathedral, where is a short epitaph drawn up by himself. The episcopal palace of Chester was wholly rebuilt by Bishop Keene, out of his private property, at an expence of 2,200*l.* soon after his promotion to the see.

XXII. *William Markham, L. L. D.* who about 1750 was first master of Westminster school; in 1759 prebend of Durham; in 1765 dean of Rochester, when he resigned the mastership of Westminster; in 1767, vacated the deanery of Rochester, and elected to that of Christ church, Oxford. In 1771, he was advanced to the bishopric of Chester, and shortly afterwards was appointed preceptor to the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York. From this see in 1776, he was translated to the archbishopric of York, on the demise of Dr. Drummond, and was

appointed lord high almoner to the king, and visitor of Queen's College, Oxford. This venerable prelate died at his house in South Audley-street, in 1807, at a very advanced age.

XXIII. *Bailey Perrens*, was born at York, May 8, 1731, of American parents, and was the youngest but one of nineteen children. He received his early education at York and Ripon, and afterwards admitted a sizar of Christ's College, Cambridge, in which university his merits and abilities soon became distinguished, and were made more generally known by his excellent poem on "Death," which received the Seatonian prize. His first church preferments were two small livings in Kent, which he exchanged for Hunton, in the same county, and a prebend in Peterborough cathedral, and not long afterwards attained the rectory of Lambeth. In 1769 he was made chaplain to his Majesty, and master of the hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester, and Dec. 31, 1776, was promoted to the bishopric of Chester, from whence he was translated to London in 1787, and died on the 14th of May, 1808, in the 78th year of his age, having directed his remains to be interred at his favourite retreat at Hyde hill, near Sundridge, in Kent, where he had built a chapel, and endowed it with 250*l.* per annum. Among other charitable benefactions, he transferred in his life-time nearly 7000*l.* stock to the archdeacons of the diocese of London, as a permanent fund for the relief of the poorer clergy of that diocese; and he also established three annual gold medals at Christ's College, Cambridge, and by his will bequeathed his library to his successors in the see of London, with a liberal sum towards erecting a building for its reception in the episcopal palace at Fulham. The bishop's works, which are too well known to be particularized, have been published collectively by his executors, with a life by his wife's nephew, the Rev. Robert Hodgson, late dean of Chester.

XXIV. *William Cleaver, D. D.* was educated by his father, and admitted of Magdalen College, Oxford, where

he was elected a demi; subsequently removed to Brazenose, on being elected a fellow of that college, and took successively the degrees of A. M. B. D. and D. D. In 1784, he was promoted to a prebendal stall in the church of St. Peter at Westminster, in 1785 elected principal of Brazenose College (which he resigned in 1809), and in 1787 was advanced to the see of Chester, through the interest of his former pupil, the Marquis of Buckingham, whom he had attended as chaplain, when lord lieutenant of Ireland. In 1799 he was translated to Bangor, and from thence, on the death of Bishop Horsley in 1806, to the diocese of St. Asaph, over which he continued to preside until his disease, at his house in Bruton-street, May 15, 1815. The principals and fellows of Brazenose College erected in their ante-chapel, a monument to the memory of this bishop, with an inscription highly flattering to his character.

XXV. *Henry William Mujendie, D. D.* one of the canons residentiary of St. Paul's, nominated in the place of Bishop Cleaver, May 24, and consecrated June 14, 1800; translated 1810 to the see of Bangor; living, 1830.

XXVI. *Bowyer Edward Sparke, D. D.* dean of Bristol, and rector of Leverington, in the Isle of Ely, the first of which he resigned, and held the latter in commendam, nominated Oct. 7, 1809, consecrated January 21, 1810; nominated to the bishopric of Ely, May 23, 1812; living, 1830.

XXVII. *George Henry Law, D. D.* prebendary of Carlisle, nominated in the place of Bishop Sparke, June 20, 1812, consecrated July 5. His lordship, who is son of Edmund, late lord bishop of Carlisle, and brother of the late Edward Lord Ellenborough, lord chief justice of the King's bench. He was translated to the see of Bath and Wells in the year 1824.

XXVIII. *Charles James Blomfield, D. D.* rector of St. Botolph, in London, succeeded Dr. Law in the diocese.

This bishop is esteemed a highly learned divine; exemplary and assiduous in the discharge of his episcopal duties, and greatly beloved; he was translated to the metropolitan see of London in 1828, over which he still continues to preside.

XXIX. *John Bird Sumner, D. D.* prebendary of Durham, and formerly fellow of King's College, Cambridge, consecrated to the see of Chester in 1828, and is at this time (1830) zealously fulfilling the duties of his high station.

DEAN AND CHAPTER.

When King Henry VIII. dissolved the monastery of St. Werburgh, and erected it into a cathedral; he founded a deanery, two archdeaconries, six prebends, and granted some valuable property and patronage to the dean and chapter. From the royal patent of 33rd of that king, 1541, the following is extracted:—The king grants to the dean and chapter, the manors of Huntington and Sutton, the last in Wirral hundred; Upton, Bromborough, Irby, Ince, Saughton, Barnshaw, Fernel-cum-Pertinensiis; lands in Backford, Huntington, Cheveley, Sutton, Bromborough, Upton, Boughton, Newton, Wervyn, Croughton, Stamford, Christleton, Chorlton, Lee, Morton, Saughton, Shotwick; right of fishery in the Dee, as customary appertaining to several of these places; rectories of Shotwick, Bromborough, Upton, West Kirby, Prestbury, Great and Little Neston, Willaston, and Ince; parcel of Chester late monastery; tythes in St. Oswald's parish, in Chester city; rectory and advowson of Campden, county of Gloucester: pension of forty pounds issuing out of Rufford manor, county of Lancaster; pensions out of Christleton, and the churches of St. Mary and St. Peter, in Chester, Bebington, Eastham, West Kirby, Thurstaston, Doddleston, Coddington, Handley, Astbury, and North-

endon; advowsons of Christleton, and St. Mary's and St. Peter's in Chester, Bebington, Thurstaston, West Kirby, Doddleston, Coddington, Handley, Astbury and Northendon; advowsons of the vicarages of Neston, Prestbury, St. Oswald's in Chester, and Eastham, with all lands belonging to those places which were ever parcel of Chester late abbey: *habend to them and their successors, in puram et perpetuam elemosynam.* Aug. 5.

The value of these endowments, at the time of the foundation, is thus stated:—

	£.	s.	d.
Impropriation of Huntington and Cheveley manors	49	9	4
Sutton manor	11	12	2
Upton	21	11	4
In Boughton, Newton, Wervyn, Croughton, Backford, Chorlton, Stamford, Christleton	104	18	2
In Moston, Saughall, Civ. Cest. cum Vico Malbanc.	67	18	11
Bromborough manor	34	15	7
Bebington-cum-Eastham	21	18	6
Irby manor	27	17	7
Ince-cum-Membris	223	2	1
	<u>563</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>

SPIRITUALIA.

St. Oswald's, Chester, Prestbury, Ince, Campden, Shotwick, Upton, Neston, cum pensionibus ecclesiarum	358	10	2
	<u>£921</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>

Out of the above revenue, the chapter had to pay, according to the foundation, per annua, as under:—

	£.	s.	d.
To the Dean	100	0	0
Six Prebends, twenty pounds each,	120	0	0
Six Minor Canons, ten pounds each,	60	0	0
The gospel and epistle reader at the altar, £6. 13s. 4d. each,	26	13	4
Four students at Oxford, £6. 13s. 4d. each,	26	13	4
Master of the choristers	10	0	0
Eight choristers, £3. 6s. 8d. each,	26	13	4
Master of the grammar school,	16	13	4
Under master	8	0	0
Twenty-four scholars, £3. 6s. 8d. each,	80	0	0
Six almsmen, £6. 13s. 4d. each	40	0	0
In alms,	20	0	0
For first fruits (and afterwards a tenth ann.)	166	16	5
	<u>£648</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>

LIST OF DEANS FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE SEE.

I. *Thomas Clark, B.D.* the last abbot, was appointed the first dean, on the conversion of the monastery into a cathedral, by the charter of Henry VIII. He died or resigned in less than half a year.

II. *Henry Mann*, in possession of the deanery in 1542. In 1546, he was made bishop of the Isle of Man, with liberty to hold the deanery in commendam ; he soon, however, resigned it.

III. *William Cliff, L.L.D.* presented to the deanery May 30, 1547. In the time of this dean, a considerable portion of the chapter revenues was lost beyond recovery. On the 20th of November, 1550, the dean surrendered up the manor of Idenshaw, and on May 14th, 1553, had a licence granted him to alienate the manors of Huntington and Cheveley to Sir Robert Cotton, comptroller of the household to King Edward VI. It is said, Sir Robert had procured the imprisonment of the dean and two prebendaries, and wrought upon them by intimidation to convey their estates to him. The two succeeding deans endeavoured to set aside this transaction, as being compulsory. At length the chapter, having discovered that the original grant by King Henry VIII. was null, in consequence of the accidental omission of the word "*Cestriae*," in the description of the grantees, made this known in a petition to the queen, and prayed that, as in consequence of this flaw, the right was vested in the crown, she would re-grant the estates illegally obtained by Sir R. Cotton, to them, in pursuance of her royal father's intention. Sir Robert, doubting the legality of his proceedings, had some years

before sold the estates to several Cheshire gentlemen for small prices. In consequence of the petition, the matter was twice argued in the court of exchequer, when the fee-farmers in possession of the estates, finding they were likely to lose their cause, engaged the Earl of Leicester in their interest, by giving him six years rent of the land. The earl, in consequence, procured the law proceedings to be stopped, and a commission to be issued for hearing the matter before himself and other lords of the privy council. The event was that in 22 an. of Elizabeth, 1580, the queen recalled the old charter of this chapter, and granted the estates to the fee-farmers, subject to certain rents, with which, and impropriations no ways improvable, as their old demesnes, she re-endowed the chapter, still reserving the old ratio for the first fruits and annual tenths. Dean Cliff died in London about Dec. 7th, 1558.

IV. *Richard Walker*, who, previous to his holding this dignity, held a rectory in Wirral, the archdeaconries of Stafford and Derby, and the rectories of Gotham and Leek; he died in 1567.

V. *John Peers*, was presented to this dignity 1567, and was afterwards elevated to the archbishopric of York.

VI. *Richard Longwerth*, prebendary of Durham. It is very likely that he died at the Red Lion Inn, Holborn, in 1579, for by his will, he leaves a legacy to his host of the Red Lion Inn.

VII. *Robert Dorsett*, canon of Christ church, Oxford, presented 1579; died 1580.

VIII. *Thomas Modesley*, made dean 1580; died 1589.

IX. *John Nuttall*, dean 1589; died 1602.

X. *William Barlow*, installed June 12, 1602; made bishop of Rochester in 1605.

XI. *Henry Parry*, installed August 1st, 1605 ; made bishop of Gloucester in 1607.

XII. *Thomas Mallory*, archdeacon of Richmond, July 25th, 1657 ; died April 3rd, 1644, and was buried in the cathedral, without any memorial.

XIII. *William Nichols*, installed April 12th, 1644 ; died 1657, and was buried at Northenden, of which he was rector, His successor, after a vacancy of above two years, was

XIV. *Henry Bridgeman*, younger son of John Bridgeman, late bishop of Chester, rector of Barrow, and archdeacon of Richmond, presented July 13th, 1660. In 1671, he was consecrated bishop of Man, with leave to hold this deanery in commendam. He died in Chester May 15th, 1682, and was buried in the cathedral, without any memorial.

XV. *James Arderne*, minister of St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, London ; installed July, 1682 ; died August 18th, 1691, and was buried in the choir of the cathedral, with the following memorial on one of the pillars, on the south side the altar :—"Near this place, lies the body of Doctor James Arderne, of this county, awhile dean of this church, who, though he bore more than a common affection to his private relations, yet gave the substance of his bequeathable estate to this cathedral, which gift his will was, should be mentioned, that clergymen may consider whether it be not a sort of sacrilege to sweep away all from the church and charity, into the possession of their lay kindred, who are not needy. Dat. Oct. 27th, 1688. This plain monument, with the above inscription, upon this cheap stone, is according to the express words of Dean Arderne's will." Upon a partition of the estates of the Done family, which had descended to the Ardernes, of Alvanley, under a decree of chancery, in 1725, one sixth part of the manors of Tarporley, Utkinton, &c. and

the right of every sixth presentation to the valuable rectory, were apportioned to the dean and chapter, in right of the bequest of Dean Arderne. To the above rectory the dean and chapter first presented in 1808.

XVI. *Lawrence Fogg*. His first preferment that occurred, was to the rectory of Hawarden, in Flintshire, from which he was ejected for non-conformity. Subsequently conforming, he was presented to the vicarage of St. Oswald's, by the dean and chapter, in 1672; had the curacy of Plemondstall from the lord-keeper Bridgeman, and was instituted to the deanery of Chester, Nov. 2, 1692. A monument was erected to his memory in St. Mary's chapel, in the cathedral, by his son, Arthur Fogg.

XVII. *Walter Offley*, installed March 27, 1718. He was rector of Barthomley, in this diocese, of Muccleston, Staffordshire, and prebendary of Lichfield. He died Aug. 18th, 1721, and was interred at Muccleston.

XVIII. *Thomas Allen, L.L.D.* of Emanuel college, Cambridge, rector of Stoke, county of Stafford, and archdeacon of Stafford, was instituted to the deanery of Chester, July 13, 1722. He died May 31, 1732, and was buried at Stoke.

XIX. *Thomas Brooke, L.L.D.* was son of Benedict Brooke, of Buglawton, in Cheshire, gent. and was educated at Brazenose college. He was rector of Winslow, county of Bucks, vicar of Nantwich, and rector of Dodleston, installed dean of Chester, 1733. It is said that he was so athletic a man, as to be able to raise the great bell of the cathedral without assistance, in which he was very fond of exercising himself. He died at Nantwich, Dec. 20, 1757.

XX. *William Smith, D. D.* installed July 28, 1758. This exemplary and learned divine, was in 1735 presented by James Earl of Derby to the rectory of Trinity church,

in Chester. He soon after published his celebrated translation of Longinus. In 1748, he was appointed by the bishop of London, master of the grammar school of Brentwood, Essex, which he held only one year. In 1753, he was nominated minister of St. George's church, in Liverpool, by the corporation of that borough; and in the same year he published "The History of the Peloponnesian War," translated from the Greek of Thucydides. In 1758, made dean of Chester, on which occasion he took the degree of D.D. In 1766, he was instituted to the rectory of Handley, Cheshire, by the chapter of the cathedral. In 1767, he resigned the chaplaincy of St. George's, on which occasion the corporation of Liverpool presented him with one hundred and fifty guineas "for his eminent and good services in that church." In 1770, he published his translation of "Xenophon's History of the Affairs of Greece." In 1780, he was instituted to the valuable rectory of West Kirkby, in the patronage of the dean and chapter, on which occasion he resigned the rectory of Trinity. In 1782, he published "Nine Discourses on the Beatitudes." He died on Friday, January 12th, 1787, and was buried on the south side of the communion table in the cathedral. His name appears over his grave, but on the centre pillar in the anti-choir, his widow placed an elegant monument, with the following inscription: "Sacred to the memory of William Smith, D.D. dean of this cathedral, and rector of West Kirkby and Handley, in this county, who died the xiith of January, M,DCC,LXXXVII, in the LXXVIth year of his age. As a scholar, his reputation is perpetuated by his valuable publications, particularly his correct and elegant translations of Longinus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. As a preacher, he was admired and esteemed by his respective auditors; and as a man, his name remains inscribed on the hearts of his friends. This monument was erected by his affectionate widow." In the year 1788, a short account of his life, to which his poetical works were prefixed, was published by his friend, the late Rev. Thomas Crane, of this city.

XXI. *George Cotton, L.L.D.* younger son of Sir L. S. Cotton, of Combermere, bart. rector of Stoke, Staffordshire, and of Davenham, in this county, which he resigned on being instituted to the rectory of Dodleston, in 1797. Dr. Cotton was presented to the deanery of Chester, 10th February, 1787, and died 1805.

XXII. *Hugh Cholmondeley*, fourth son of Thomas Cholmondeley, of Vale Royal, Esq. and brother of the present Lord Delamere, was admitted to the deanery Feb. 24, 1806, and held the same with the rectories of Tarporley and Barrow, and the curacy of Harthill, to the time of his decease, Nov. 25, 1815. This excellent man was indefatigable in promoting the reparation of the cathedral, and its best interests; he opened the different avenues in the cloisters, and other parts long before blocked up, and erected the iron palisades in front of the cathedral. His kind and unostentatious manners, and his extensive charities, procured for him, what he well deserved, the universal love of all who knew him.

XXIII. *Robert Hodgson, D.D.* was admitted and instituted to the deanery March 7, 1816, on the death of Dean Cholmondeley, and held with the deanery the rectory of St. George, Hanover-square, and the vicarage of Hillingdon, in the county of Middlesex.

XXIV. — *Vaughan*, installed 1st July, 1820.

XXV. *Edward Copleston, D.D.* dean of St. Paul's, installed 5th Sept. 1826. This divine, the present bishop of Llandaff, erected the screen dividing the parish church of St. Oswald's from the south aisle of the cathedral, at an expence of upwards of 600*l.* which he bore out of his own private parse.

XXVI. *Henry Phillpotts, D.D.* the present dean, installed 18th of May, 1828.

CHANCELLORS OF THE DIOCESE OF CHESTER.

[From Ormerod.]

I. *Adam Beccanshaw*, Dec. Bacc. had a patent of official of the archdeaconry, from William Knight, J.C.D. archdeacon of Chester, Nov. 26, 1522.

II. *George Wylmisley*, B.L.L. appears in a lease of the rectory of Bowdon, made by John then bishop of Chester, to be at that time chancellor, but no patent is in the office. This George Wylmisley is most probably George Savage, styled chancellor of Chester, by Sir Peter Leycester and Anthony Wood, who was brother of John Wylmisley, rector of Tarporley, and base son of George Savage, parson of Davenham, by the daughter of one Wylmisley, of Wilmislow.

III. *Robert Leche*, afterwards L.L.D. had a patent from William lord bishop of Chester, Dec. 9, 1562, buried at Malpas 5th Nov. 1587. He occurs in the pedigree of the Mollington branch of the Leches, of Carden.

IV. *David Yale*, L.L.D. prebendary of the fifth stall, had a patent from William lord bishop of Chester, Dec. 9, 1587.

V. *Thomas Stofford*, L.L.B. upon Yale's resignation, had a patent granted from John lord bishop of Chester, dated March 1, 1624.

VI. *Edward Mainwaring*, L.L.D. is styled by Sir Peter Leycester, chancellor of Chester, 1642; but his patent is not in the office. He is also described as chancellor (but erroneously) of the county palatine of Chester,

on the monument of his son, Sir William Mainwaring, in the Chester cathedral. This chancellor was second son of Randle Mainwaring, of Over-Peover, knight, by Margaret his wife, daughter of Sir Edward Fitton, of Gaws-worth, knight.

VII. *Timothy Baldwyn*, upon Dr. Mainwaring's resignation, had a patent from Bryant lord bishop of Chester, Nov. 30, 1660.

VIII. *John Wainewright, L.L.D.* on Baldwyn's resignation, had a patent from the same lord bishop, dated April 5, 1661.

IX. *Thomas Wainewright, L.L.D.* (on the resignation of his father, Dr. John Wainewright) had a patent from John lord bishop of Chester, dated Dec. 15, 1682.

[These two chancellors are commemorated on one monument in the vestibule of the north aisle.]

X. *Peregrine Gastrell, Esq.* on the death of Dr. Thomas Wainewright, had a patent from Francis lord bishop of Chester, dated April 10, 1721. He died July 23, 1748, and a memorial was placed among the monuments in St. Mary's chapel.

XI. *Samuel Peploe, L.L.B.* by patent from his father Samuel, lord bishop of Chester, Aug. 5, 1748; commemorated on a monument in the broad aisle of this cathedral; prebendary of the sixth stall, July 4, 1727; vicar of Northenden, Dec. 17, 1727; archdeacon of Richmond, June 4, 1729; rector of Tattenhall, April 16, 1743; and warden of the collegiate church of Manchester; died Oct. 22, 1781.

XII. *John Briggs, A.M.* 30th Oct. 1781.

XIII. *Thomas Parkinson, D.D.* 12th Oct. 1804; the present chancellor.

ARCHDEACONS
OF CHESTER, SINCE THE FOUNDATION.

[*No Jurisdiction.*]

After the surrender of Dr. Knight, May 20, 1541, and his appointment to the bishopric of Bath and Wells, this archdeaconry remained vacant until John Bird, bishop of Bangor, being translated to the new see of Chester, got the entire archidiaconal power vested in himself, subject to the payment of a stipend of 50*l.* per annum to a nominal archdeacon, which stipend he reserved to himself, and had the offices executed by deputies. In the convocation 1545, Nicholas Buxsie, was appointed his deputy for this archdeaconry. After the deprivation of Bird, George Cotes, his successor, appointed

I. *Robert Percevall, B.D.* rector of Ripley, to be archdeacon in 1545, but in 1559, he was dispossessed of his archdeaconry, and the fourth stall in this cathedral, and imprisoned on account of his religion.

II. *Robert Rogers, B.D.* was admitted about 1581. He was a local antiquary of much research and good judgment, and has left behind him collections relative to the local history of Chester, extant in MS. classed under nine heads, by his son, a part of which, relating to the ancient customs and amusements of Chester, is given in this work. William Aldersey is also said to have been indebted to Rogers's general papers, for the documents on which he founded his corrected list of mayors. Mr. Rogers held in addition to his archdeaconry the sixth stall in the cathedral of Chester. An account of his family occurs on his widow's monument, among the sepulchral memorials at Eccleston.

III. *Cuthbert Bellott*, prebendary of Westminster, collated June 13, 1595; resigned the archdeaconry before his decease.

IV. *George Snell*, collated Jan. 16, 1595; died Feb. 5, 1655, and was buried in St. Mary's church, in Chester.

V. *John Carter*, minister of Highgate, presented to this archdeaconry Oct. 19, 1660.

VI. *William Fismore*, prebendary of the sixth stall, and vicar of Runcorn, installed Nov. 6, 1666. He was buried in St. Mary's chapel, in Chester cathedral, 1686, where a monument remains to his memory.

VII. *John Allen, M.A.* a very learned divine, chaplain to Bishop Pearson, and prebendary of the second stall, was collated April 12, 1686; and died 1696, and was buried in the cathedral.

VIII. *Edmund Entwisle*, collated April 30, 1696, prebendary of the first stall, and rector of Barrow. He was an early patron, if not founder of the charity for the relief of clergymen's widows and orphans within the archdeaconry of Chester.

IX. *John Thane*, prebendary, presented 1707; died June 30, 1727, and was interred in St. Mary's chapel, in Chester cathedral, where a monument exists to his memory.

X. *Lewis Stephens, A.M.* presented by the archbishop of York, by reason of option, September 12, 1727; died 1747.

XI. *William Powell, D.D.* dean of St. Asaph, collated April 22, 1747; died April 14, 1751; buried at Christleton.

XII. *Abel Ward, A.M.* collated April 20, 1751; successively rural dean and rector of the church of St. Anne, in Manchester; prebendary of the fifth stall; rector of Dodleston, and vicar of Neston; died Oct. 1, 1785; he has a memorial among the monuments in St. Mary's chapel.

XIII. *George Travis, A.M.* a learned controversialist, collated Nov. 27, 1786, prebendary of the second stall, vicar of Eastham, and rector of Handley; died Feb. 24, 1797, and has an elegant monument in the north aisle of the choir.

XIV. *Thomas Braithwaite*, noticed under the archdeacons of Richmond, was removed from this archdeaconry on the death of the Rev. G. Travis, and dying in 1801, was succeeded in his archdeaconry and prebendal stall, by

XV. *Unwin Clarke, A.M.* the present archdeacon and rural dean, collated to his predecessor's prebend Jan. 14, 1801, and to the archdeaconry three days afterwards. He holds now (1830) the vicarage of Eastham.

ARCHDEACONS OF RICHMOND.

[*No Jurisdiction.*]

Bishop Bird, having taken this office into his own hands, as he had that of the archdeaconry of Chester, appointed one Richard Smith to appear at the convocation 1545, and the same bishop held it afterwards five or six years, as it appears from a mandate directed to him, by the king's letters patent, dated Jan. 11, 4 Edw. VI. This prelate being deprived in 1553, his successor, George Cotes, appointed to this archdeaconry, in 1554,

I. *John Hanson*, who was deprived of this and his other preferments, in about five years, by Queen Elizabeth, and being threatened with imprisonment, retired with Bishop Scot into Louvain, where he is supposed to have died.

II. *Christopher Goodman* was instituted in his place in 1559 or 1560. This archdeacon was born at Chester in 1518, and having received his early education there, was admitted of Brazenose college, Oxford, where he proceeded M.A. In 1547, Goodman obtained one of the studentships in Christ church, and was afterwards appointed divinity professor. The accession of Mary compelled him to retire to Frankfort, from whence he removed to Geneva, where he and the celebrated John Knox were chosen pastors of the English church, and joined in compiling "The book of common order," used as a directory of worship in their congregations. After the death of Mary, Goodman became a minister of St. Andrew's, in Edinburgh, and assisted in establishing the reformation in that kingdom. He subsequently removed to England, and attended Sir Philip Sydney, in the capacity of chaplain, in his expedition against the Irish rebels. The other preferments of Goodman were Aldford, and St. Bridget's in Chester. From the first of these he was removed by Bishop Vaughan, for non-conformity. In 1571 he was cited before Archbishop Parker, for certain opinions promulged in his work, published in the time of Mary, entitled, "How far superior power ought to be obeyed," &c. but was forgiven on an avowal of his loyalty to Elizabeth. Besides this work, he published a commentary on Amos, and dying June 4, 1603, was buried at St. Bridget's, in Chester.

III. *Thomas Mallory*, collated Nov. 6, 1603. Dean of Chester.

IV. *Thomas Dod*, A.M. collated Dec. 1, 1607, successively rector of Astbury, prebendary of Chester, rector

of the lower moiety of Malpas, dean of Ripon, and chaplain in ordinary to King James I. and King Charles I.

V. *Henry Bridgeman, A.M.* collated May 20, 1648. Dean of Chester.

VI. *Charles Bridgeman, A.M.* was collated to this archdeaconry June 10, 1664; died Nov. 26, 1676, and was buried at Oxford.

VII. *Henry Davis, D.D.* of Trinity College, Cambridge, was collated to this archdeaconry Dec. 3, 1678.

VIII. *Thomas Lamplugh, A.M.* succeeded; collated April 2, 1695; died 1703.

IX. *William Stratford*, collated Sept. 10, 1703; died 1729. An ample account of this archdeacon is given in his epitaph in Christ church, Oxford.

X. *Samuel Peploe, L.L.B.* collated June 4, 1729. Chancellor of the diocese.

XI. *Thomas Townsen, D.D.* collated Oct. 30, 1781.

XII. *Thomas Braithwaite, D.D.* of Brazenose college, Oxford, collated to this archdeaconry June 9, 1792; removed to the archdeaconry of Chester 1797; died 1801, at Stepney, where he was buried.

XIII. *George Buckley Bowyer, M.A.* collated April 25, 1797, fellow of Brazenose college, Oxford.

XIV. *John Owen, B.A.* collated Jan. 14, 1801.

XV. *John Headlam, M.A.* and chairman of the sessions, the present archdeacon (1830).

REGISTRARS OF CHESTER.

[By Bishop Gastrell, to 1716.]

The first patent for registrar-general was made to George Wimsley, and his assigns, for eighty years, anno 1544, in which the bishop obliges himself and his successors to pay the registrar a salary of 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the exercise of this office during that term; in the preamble to which patent it is said that Edward Plankney, to whom this office was granted in 1541, had for a large sum of money, paid him by G. Wimsley, resigned it to his use and advantage.

Anno 1553. The same bishop (*viz.* Bird) grants the reversion of the registerships (after the death, resignation, or forfeiture of Plankney) to Thomas and George Savage, sons of George Savage, alias Wilmsley, for their lives, and that of the survivor.

Anno 1606. A patent was granted to John Morgell, for his own life, and the life of his two sons.

Anno 1630. Another patent was granted to John Morgell, for the lives of his three sons, before the sealing whereof he enters into articles with the bishop, not to intermeddle with the deans rural, or their acts, or to do any thing in prejudice of the said deans, or their registers.

Anno 1662. A patent for principal registrar was granted to Ralph Morgell, Sew. Fuller, and J. Tibbotts for their lives, with similar security respecting the rights of the rural deans, &c.

Anno 1665. A patent was granted to Sir Jos. Cradock, and John Wright.

Anno 1668. A patent to Walter Pope, M.D. confirmed by chapter, anno 1669.

Anno 1715. A patent to Mr. George Smith.

9th Aug. 1745. James Bayley, Esq. was constituted registrar, and was succeeded, Dec. 4, 1769, by Benjamin Keene, Esq. (son of Edmund Keene, then bishop of Chester) who is the present registrar.

PREBENDARIES.

Rev. Unwin Clarke, M.A. 5th Feb. 1801.

Rev. James Slade, M.A. 21st Dec. 1816.

Rev. Francis Wrangham, M.A. and archdeacon of the East Riding of the county of York, F.R.S. 9th April, 1825.

Rev. William Ainger, D.D. 31st March, 1827.

Rev. George Becker Blomfield, M.A. 18th Aug. 1827.

Rev. Robert Vanburgh Law, M.A. 29th Dec. 1828.

PRECENTOR.

Rev. Joseph Eaton, M.A. F.S.A. 3rd March, 1803.

MINOR CANONS.

Rev. Joseph Eaton, M.A. 6th Aug. 1800.

Rev. F. Casson, M.A. 2nd June, 1825.

Rev. William Harrison, M.A. 26th April, 1827.

Rev. Robert Yarker, M.A. 18th Aug. 1827.

Rev. William Godwin, M.A. 23rd June, 1828.

Rev. Thomas Boydell, A.B. 15th Jan. 1830.

CONSISTORY COURT OF CHESTER,

Having Jurisdiction throughout the Diocese.

CHANCELLOR—Dr. Parkinson, archdeacon of Leicester, and a prebendary of St. Paul's.

REGISTRAR OF CHESTER—Benjamin Keene, Esq.

DEPUTY—William Ward, Esq.

PROCTORS—Edward Pate, Edward Jones, William Ward, jun., Robert Maddock, and Henry Ward.

RURAL DEAN'S COURT.

RURAL DEAN—Rev. Unwin Clarke, M.A. archdeacon of the archdeaconry of Chester.

REGISTRAR—William Ward, Esq. (no deputy) having a limited jurisdiction within the archdeaconry of Chester.

CONSISTORY COURT OF RICHMOND.

ARCHDEACON—Rev. John Headlam, M.A.

REGISTRAR—Benjamin Keene, Esq.

DEPUTY—Ottiwell Tomlin, Esq.

Grants probates, letters of administration, marriage licences, &c. for the deaneries of Richmond, Catterick, and Boroughbridge, Yorkshire ; and grants faculties, and punishes offenders within the five deaneries of Amounderness, Lonsdale, Kendal, Furness, and Copeland.

LANCASTER.

REGISTRAR—Benjamin Keene, Esq.

DEPUTY—William Sharp, Esq.

No wills proved or letters of administration granted at Lancaster until November, 1748, previous to which time wills were proved, and letters of administration granted for the five deaneries of Amounderness, Lonsdale, Kendal, Furness, and Copeland, at Richmond.

HAWARDEN, in the county of Flint ; a peculiar, under the jurisdiction of the rector thereof ; has cognizance of ecclesiastical causes, proves wills, grants letters of administration, and marriage licences.

HALTON, in the county of Lancaster. The lord of the manor, William Bradshaw Bradshaw, Esq. claims probate of wills, and letters of administration within the same ; his steward acts as actuary or registrar.

MARSHAM, otherwise **MASHAM-CUM-KIRKLEY MALZERD**, in the county of York, a peculiar, claimed by Thomas Hutchinson, of Hipwell-Lodge, county of York, Esq.

MIDDLEHAM Deanery, in the county of York, a royal peculiar. Registrar of Chester.

USBORNE PARVA, a peculiar in the county of York, claimed by the precentor of the cathedral church of York.

HUNSINGORE, in the county of York, assumes exemption from the bishop of Chester's jurisdiction, except in institution by him.

BURTON LEONARD, county of York. The dean and chapter of York are the patrons of this benefice, and claim jurisdiction ; but this right is disputed, as offenders have been punished by the consistory court of Richmond.

Chester—General Description.

HAVING now travelled through the early history of Chester, civil and ecclesiastical, my attention will naturally be drawn to subjects of more immediate concernment. To some classes of readers, the relation of occurrences concerning the olden times has but little to recommend it, and less inviting is the bare recital of a long list of the names of those, who in remote or proximate periods, have occupied distinguished offices in the church or civil departments. There are others, who consider these topics as the most interesting parts of history; but however they may be estimated, it must be allowed by all, that they are useful as subjects of reference, and that their omission in a local history would be an unpardonable defect. The topographical and statistical history of the city will of course occupy a considerable portion of the work; and the author having collected from ancient MSS. and other sources, many new and important facts, which have never reached the public eye, it is presumed the relation will not be unworthy of attention.

There are few cities in Europe that have a stronger claim to particular notice than Chester: the curious stranger will here find an ample field for admiration; the man of taste will not leave its precincts ungratified; nor will the research of the antiquary pass unrewarded, in exploring the rich and valuable treasures contained within its walls.

The inhabitants of Chester enjoy advantages which scarcely any other place of equal magnitude possesses; peculiarly favoured by providence, the situation is as pleasing as the air is salubrious. The late Dr. Haygarth,

a gentleman of high professional talents, with whose residence here the city was long favoured, in his observations on the population and diseases of Chester, published in 1774, has shewn, that it was in a very extraordinary degree, more healthy than most other towns and cities, and that during a period of ten years preceding, the proportion of deaths had been only one in forty, and within the walls, exclusively of the suburbs, only one in fifty-eight. He attributes the healthiness of Chester to its elevated situation ; its being built on a loose rock, which quickly absorbs moisture ; and its being surrounded by the Dee. The doctor observes also, that the air is uncommonly clear, there having been but six foggy, and thirty-two hazy mornings during the four years then preceding ; and he considers the opportunities for taking air and exercise, afforded even to invalids by the rows and walls, well adapted to preserve and restore health. Dr. Aikin, in his history of the country round Manchester, truly remarks, " that the small proportion of deaths, when compared with the number of inhabitants at Chester, is in part owing to the much less proportion of the lowest class of poor, than in manufacturing towns."

The form of the city, as Mr. Pennant remarks, evinces its origin to have been Roman, being in the figure of their camps ; and having four principal gates, each fronting one of the cardinal points. The structure of the four principal streets is without parallel ; they each run direct from the centre of the city, at or near the cross, east, west, north, and south, till the gates are passed, and proceed in a continuous line to the various suburbs of the city. The smaller streets within the city cross the principal ones at right angles, dividing the whole into lesser squares.

The most prominent objects that first strike the mind in a survey of Chester, are the CITY WALLS and the GALLERIES (or ROWS, as they are called), the former marking the ancient limits, and the latter, at an elevation of several yards from the carriage road, running parallel with the four principal streets. In the first instance the reader's attention shall be directed towards

THE WALLS.

This structure, which embraces a circuit of one mile three quarters, and about one hundred yards, had its origin, no doubt, in hostile warfare, being obviously intended as fortifications. The present form is strictly Roman, which goes a great way to negative the old legends of the monkish chroniclers, that the walls were enlarged one-third in circumference by Ethelfleda, the celebrated Saxon princess. The walls, at present, says a judicious antiquary, is so entirely Roman, that any addition she could make, would have destroyed the peculiar figure which that wise people always preserved in their stations or castrametations, wheresoever the nature of the ground would permit. Besides, the reliques of antiquity which distinguish their residence, are not confined to any one quarter; they have been met in excavations on every side within the walls.

The military architecture, continues the same writer, is still precisely on the Roman plan: it is probable, that after their retreat it fell into ruin, in the impoverished, turbulent, and barbarous ages that succeeded; yet was it never so totally demolished, but that it might still yield a defence to its possessors. We find it wrested out of the hands of the Britons by Egbert, in 828; we again see it possessed by the Danes in 895, and besieged by Alfred, who slew all the banditti, whom he found *without the walls*; and lastly, we find it taken by Ethelfleda, by the voluntary surrender of the garrison. All this proves a continuance of the fortifications, probably in a ruinous condition; and most likely their repair and improvement are ascribable to the military spirit of that illustrious lady.

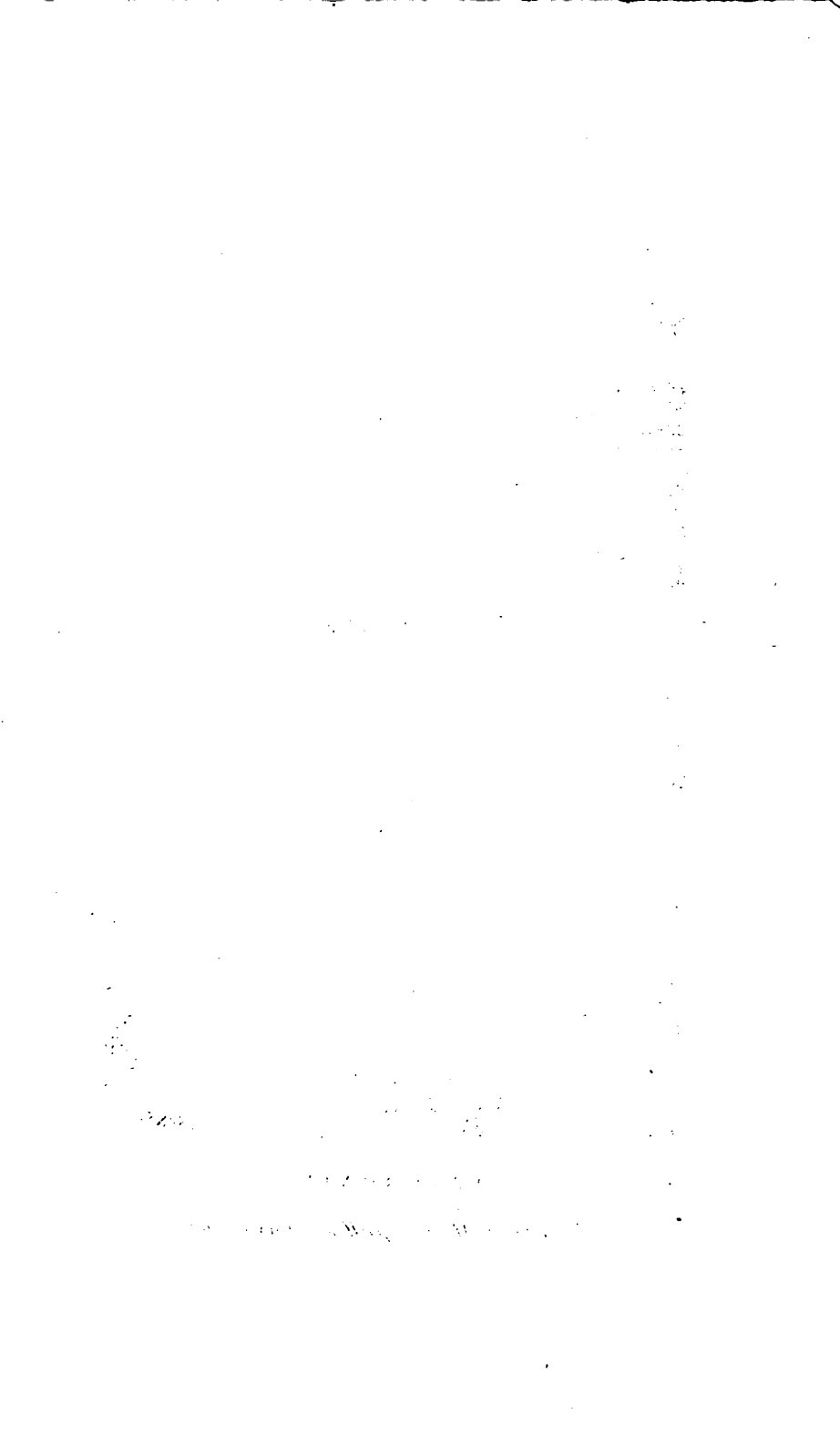
Again, we see the Roman mode of fortification preserved to this day, exactly on the ancient plan. From each side of the gates projected a *propugnaculum*, or bastion, in order to annoy the enemy who attempted to enter; between them, in the very entrance, was the *cata-racta*, or portcullis, ready to be dropt in case they forced the gates; so that part of them might be caught within the walls, and the rest excluded. Should it happen that

they set the gates on fire, there were holes above, in order to pour down water to extinguish the flames. The walls were in many parts, especially on the north and east sides, guarded by towers, placed so as not to be beyond bow-shot of one another, in order that the archers might reach the enemy, who attempted to attack the intervals.* They were also mostly of a round form, as was recommended by the Roman architects, in order the more effectually to resist the force of battering rams. And lastly, the thickness of the walls answers to the breadth prescribed by Vitruvius; only two persons can walk abreast, excepting where the adjacent ground gives a larger expanse. The great architect directs, that they should be of such a breadth, that two armed men may pass each other without any impediment.

The materials of which the walls are built are of a red-sand stone, obtained from quarries in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, which is peculiarly liable to decay on exposure to the air. The murage duties, arising principally from the annual importation of Irish linens, were formerly amply sufficient for their constant repair; but the almost entire failure of this branch of commerce, of which some notice will be taken when I come to speak of the trade of Chester, has deprived the city of these revenues, as applicable to this object. From some source or other, however, the breaches, whether arising from accidental causes, or the wanton and mischievous outrages of nocturnal depredators, are constantly repaired, and the whole kept entire.† Though their original structure was intended for the objects of war, the walls have

* "These towers," says Webb, who wrote upwards of two hundred years ago, "whereof there are divers upon the said walls, were, as I suppose, made to be watch-towers in the day, and lodging-places in the night, and in the time of storms, for the watchmen that kept watch upon the walls, in those times of danger, when they were so often besieged by armies of enemies, and in such perilous surprises; though now some of them be converted to other uses."

† There is no other city or town in the kingdom whose walls still remain entire; those of Conway are the most so, since the late demolition of a great part of the walls of Carlisle.





EAST GATE.



WATERGATE.

Engraved by Masgrove for Hemingways Chester

long been devoted to the purposes of pleasure, and salubrious enjoyment, and form one of the most delightful promenades that can well be imagined. The walking path, which in every portion of the circuit, consists of flags, from four to five feet in width, is always clean, and very speedily, after torrents of rain, becomes perfectly dry. From this level, the wall rises about breast high, from whence to the ground on the outside, the distance varies from eight to twelve or fourteen yards. The walk within is bounded in some parts by an iron, and in others, by a wooden railing, and on the city side, the ground is sometimes level with the walking path, and at others, three or four yards below it. Some beautiful views present themselves from different parts of the walls, which I shall notice as I proceed. In traversing this delightful promenade, it will be necessary to give some historical account of the four principal gates, each of which will demand a distinct notice. And first of the **EAST-GATE**.

This gate, which forms the principal entrance to the city, from most parts of the shire, and the great roads from London, Manchester, &c. consists of a wide elegant arch, with posterns on each side, the whole surmounted by a light iron railing, and was erected at the sole expence of the late Earl Grosvenor. On the west side are the City Arms, and this inscription :—“*Began A. D. M.D.CCLXVIII. John Kelsall, Esq. Mayor.—Finished A. D. M.D.CCLXIX. Charles Boswell, Esq. Mayor.*” On the east side are the arms of the Grosvenor family, and this inscription :—“*Erected at the expence of Richard Lord Grosvenor. M.D.CCLXIX.*”

From the summit of this gate, there is a direct view westward up Eastgate-street to the cross ; and eastward to beyond the bars ; and it is a station eagerly sought, when any public procession passes in that direction.

All the four gates, except that of the Northgate, of which the citizens always had the charge, were kept by persons who held by sergeantship, under the ancient Earls of Chester, who were entitled to certain tolls, which are specified in an inquisition, taken in the year 1321. The

sergeantship of the East-gate was given in consequence of a royal mandate, by Reginald de Grey, justice of Chester, about 1270, to Hervicus de Bradford, and Robert his son, together with Breures Halgh,* near Chester, as a compensation for their manor of Bradford, which they had ceded to Vale Royal abbey. The Trussells afterwards had possession, and it appears from an inquisition post mortem of the 2nd Richard II. that William Trussell, of Cubleston, had the custody of this gate. The same is noticed in other inquisitions, taken 3rd and 7th Richard II. with reference to the same William Trussell, in the latter of which he is said to have died seized of the bailiwick and issues of the custody of the said gate, with its appurtenances, and the houses and buildings above and below the same. *Inq. p. m. 2nd Hen. IV.* Margaret wife of Fulco de Penbrugge (heir by the last *Inq.*) died seized inter alia, of the same custody, &c. held with the manor of Bruardeshalghe, held from the lord earl of Chester, in socage, in capite, by the render of one penny per annum, and by serving the said lord earl, and the mayor and sheriffs of the city of Chester, in the office of bailiff of the Eastgate-street of the said city.—From this family the sergeantship passed with Warmingham, and other estates to the Veres, earls of Oxford; and subsequently by sale to Randolph Crewe, who covenanted to release the tolls to the city; but the business was interrupted, and followed by long disputes between Sir Randolph and the city, which were terminated in favour of the former, by an order from the lords of the privy council, dated Jan. 12, 1630. In 1662, John Crewe, of Crewe, Esq. released the tolls to the city, in consideration of a rent charge on the Roodee of 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* stipulating for an exemption from tolls for himself and his heirs, and reserving the custody of the gate, with the adjacent buildings, and the nomination of the sergeant. This appointment is now vested in his descendant Lord Crewe. The keeper of the gate was anciently bound to provide a crannock and

* Brewer's Hall.

bucket, for measuring salt, and has still the inspection of the weights of the city.

It is to be regretted, that when the old structure was taken down in 1768, some intelligent antiquary was not on the spot to have noticed and recorded the formation, dimensions, &c. of the ancient building, on the demolition of which some remains were discovered, which indubitably proved its origin to have been Roman. There is, however, some difficulty in ascertaining at this time an exact description.

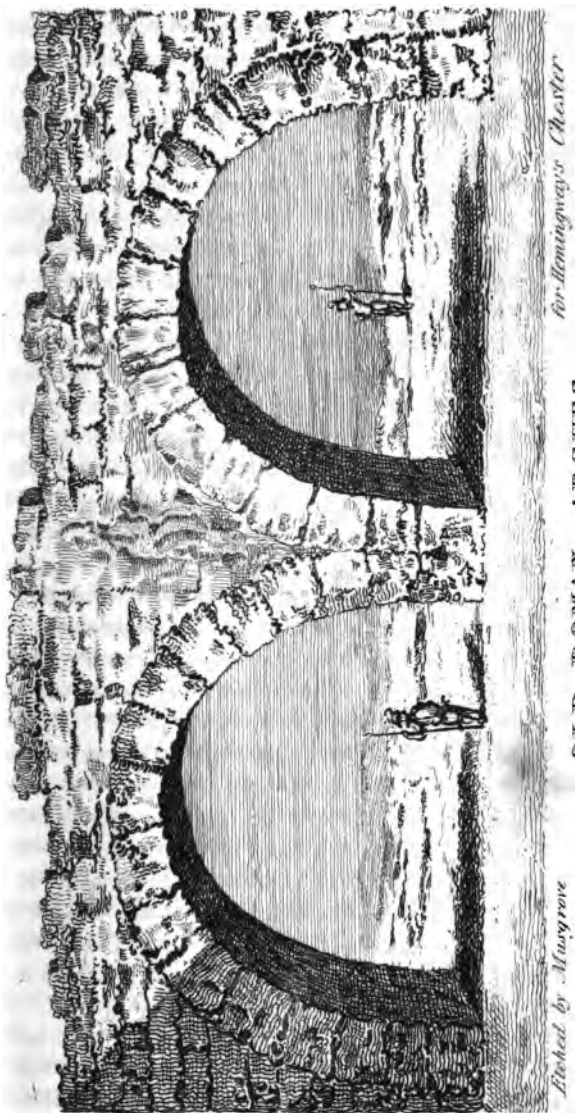
Mr. Pennant, who, when he speaks from his own knowledge and observation, is an authority at all times to be relied on, gives the following account of the old East-gate, but his information is obviously derived from another :—"Of the four gates of the city," says he, "one of them, the East-gate, continued till of late years; it was of Roman architecture, and consisted of two arches, much hid by a tower, erected over it in later days. A few years ago it was pulled down, on account of its straitness and inconvenience, to give way to a magnificent gate, which rose in its place by the munificence of lord Grosvenor. I remember the demolition of the ancient structure; and on the taking down the more modern case of Norman masonry, the Roman appeared full in view. It consisted of two arches, formed of vast stones, fronting the Eastgate-street and the Forest-street; the pillars between them dividing the street exactly in two. The accurate representation of them by Mr. Wilkinson, of this city, will give a stronger idea than words can convey; as also of the figure of the Roman soldier, placed between the tops of the arches, facing the Forest-street.* This species of double gate was not unfrequent. The *Portæ esquilina*, and the *Porte portesi*, at Rome were of this kind. Flores, in his medals of the Roman colonies in Spain, exhibits one of the coins of Merida, the ancient

* Mr. Pennant accompanies his description of the gate with a print of the double arch, of which I have had a fac simile engraved, which will be placed opposite the page where this account occurs.

Emerita, particularly on those of Augustus, which shews, that the colonists were proud of their gate; and perhaps not without reason, as it appears to have been the work of the best age. I must conclude, that the mode seems to have been derived from the Grecian architecture; for at Athens stood a *Dipylon*, or double gate now demolished.—The East-gate faced the great Watling-street road, and near the place where other military ways united. Through this was the greatest conflux, of people; which rendered the use of the double portal more requisite.”

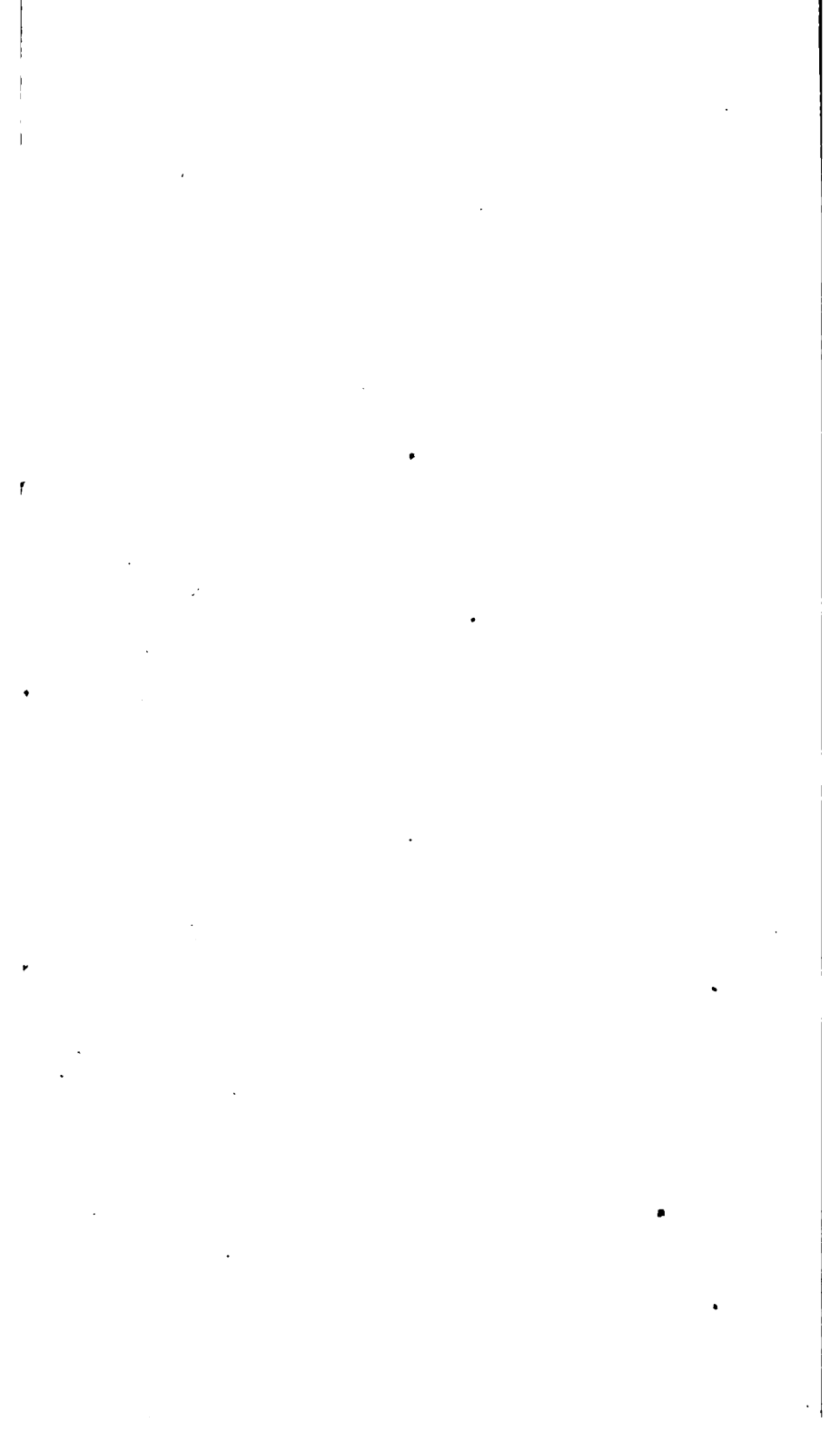
Thus far Mr. Pennant on the subject, who, as to the description, relies on the authority of Mr. Wilkinson, a gentleman resident in the city, and who appears to have made the drawing *at the time* the more modern part of the structure was taken down. This delineation is also rendered more probable from the reasoning adopted by the Tourist, who affirms it to be in accordance with the Roman mode of construction.

On the other hand, I have lately seen a drawing, accompanied with a descriptive account, which represents this gate as consisting of *four* arches. This production is stated to be “drawn according to the instructions and directions of Mr. Ogden, of Chester, by J. Calveley, 1774;” and to the drawing is appended the following description:—“The Roman gate at Chester was sixteen feet high; the breadth nine and thirty feet. This gate was composed of *four* arches, two in one line; the distance from each was fifteen feet. In the middle of the gate fronting the east, there was a statue, ten feet from the ground, cut upon one large stone in alto relievo, grooved or fixed into the gate by a kind of dove-tail work, and could not weigh less than half a ton. This statue represented the god Mars; and as this god had several names, so this may be called *Propugnator vel Defensor*. The god was in complete armour; in one hand he held a shield, in the other a *Hasta Pura*, or spear without a point, and as Chester was at that time the station of a great legion, what could be more noble and grand than to dedicate the principal gate to *Marti Deo*



OLD ROMAN ARCHES,

as they appeared on taking down the Norman Masonry at the Eastgate in 1768. Viewed from foregate Street.



Propugnatori. Height of the statue, 4 feet 4 inches; breadth, 2 feet 10 inches; height of the arches 14 feet."

These two descriptions appear to be at variance with each other; and yet the respectable authorities on which they both rest, induces a persuasion, that the two accounts rather differ in the *mode* of describing the gate, than in *reality*. Mr. Ogden is yet well remembered in Chester, as a medical practitioner of celebrity, and as a gentleman who took great pleasure in exploring the antiquities of his native city;* and Mr. Calveley will also be recollected by many living characters as an eminent surveyor and draughtsman. It may, however, I am persuaded, be possible, to reconcile both accounts. From a slight perusal of Mr. Ogden's description, it might be inferred, that the *two arches in a line*, were separate and detached, having no connexion or communication with each other, but leaving an entire open interval from top to bottom, of fifteen feet; while the delineation of Mr. Pennant might lead to a conclusion, that the two portals in front had each one continuous arch across the whole breadth, and without any interval between. The only way by which I can make these two accounts to agree in substance is, to suppose, that there were two arches in a line, one fronting Eastgate-street, and the other Foregate-street, which were connected at the top by some strong materials, wood or stone, resting on the top of each, and forming a roof or flooring. Nor, in this case, would Mr. Ogden's relation of an interval of fifteen feet between the arches be invalidated, if it be taken to refer only to the space under the roofing.

There is no living authority that I have been able to meet with, who is able to solve this apparent incongruity; nor can it often happen that individuals are to be found, capable of remembering such minute particulars as this, at the distance of more than sixty years. The reader is of course at liberty to adopt or reject the hypothesis I have

* The author has been favoured with several valuable books of MSS. the collections of this gentleman, the information contained in which will be introduced as occasion arises.

offered, or receive which of the descriptions he pleases that have been given. In the mean time, I must have leave to observe, that as the character and talents of Mr. Wilkinson (on whose authority Mr. Pennant's view rests), and those of Mr. Ogden, are of the most respectable kind, and as they both appear to have taken their observations on the spot, I should feel less difficulty in admitting a slight improbability, than in condemning either of them in a design to deceive the public. In an old MS. I have in my possession, and written in the last century, I find a short description of this gate, which, although it throws no light upon the subject, is not unworthy of being introduced. "The East-gate," says my author, "is accounted a beautiful structure of its kind, in the gothic way, built so strong and regular, that notwithstanding the stone is of a very perishing nature, it has continued much the same many centuries (from the conquest at least) without any considerable addition or alteration. The present gate seems to be that built by Elfleda: *the two old arches adjoining on the west side, look like the remains of a gate of an older standing (probably Roman), from their exactly semi-circular form, not elliptical. The peaked arches are more modern.*" From this notice, it is obvious, that although the old Roman arches were partially blocked up, they were discoverable long before the old building was taken down.

From this gate I shall commence the circuit of the walls, in the course of which will be found numerous circumstances worthy the attention of the curious reader. And I am happy to say, that through the kindness of a gentleman, which will be acknowledged in its proper place, it has been my good fortune to obtain an authentic MS. written about the year 1706, which discloses several facts, that have long been lost to observation, and which none of our historians have taken any notice of. I shall give this document at length, adding some notes as I proceed, and taking the liberty of introducing occasional digressions. The MS. will be distinguished by being marked with turned commas, and the reader is requested

to keep in his recollection, that it was composed nearly a hundred and thirty years since.

My author commences his paper by "supposing a stranger desirous to remark what is curious and observable in our city and suburbs, I would entreat him first to take a tour round the walls; he will find it perhaps one of the pleasantest walks he has met with, as there are various distant prospects and nearer objects, buildings antique and modern, orchards, gardens, &c. to entertain him." He then proceeds: "We will ascend at the East-gate, and direct our course northward. And before we set out, once for all, I shall acquaint my stranger, that the walls, of late years more especially, have undergone several alterations, not so much for strength as ornament. The pace has been made more level;—the battlements, which were heretofore in most places higher and kernelled, in some with long perpendicular picks or narrow holes, with one transverse for bows and arrows, whilst they were the artillery in use;—the battlements, I say, are now much lowered, and several of the turrets and bastions we shall pass by, have put on a new face, being rendered more commodious for the companies of freemen that meet therein, and furnished with seats and other conveniences, for the pleasure as well as the ease of the traveller.*

"When we have gone northward a few paces, there immediately opens to our view a south-east prospect of our cathedral, heretofore the conventual church of St. Werburgh, a very magnificent pile, built at different times, and endowed by several patrons†. On the south side,

* I have not been able to ascertain the exact time when the walls lost their warlike aspect, by the removal of the apertures for the bow, but it was most probably about the year 1670, soon after the kingdom was restored to perfect tranquillity after our civil commotions. It is likely, that about the same period, the towers or turrets were appropriated to the peaceful purposes of trade and conviviality. Most of these buildings have been long demolished, and the remainder are in a state of complete dilapidation.

† Although the cathedral is but here incidentally mentioned, a particular description of this; and the other sacred edifices will be found in the parochial history.

you may observe a pyramid, of the occasion of which I have met with no certain account, unless we suppose the common tradition to be true, that under it was buried Henry IV. emperor of Germany, who is said to have died at Chester, by Higden from Giraldus and others, and to have been buried here, under the feigned name of Godescalcus.* There was heretofore a lane from the Eastgate-street into St. Werburgh's church-yard directly opposite to this monument, which was called Godescalc's-lane. Under the pyramid, in the south aisle, on the north wall, was painted formerly St. Christopher, with an infant on his shoulder, with his pilgrim's staff in his hand, knee-deep in a river. On the east-side, a person in the habit of a knight, with a sword on his side in a praying posture; on the other, a monk in the same posture underneath, somewhat written in an old English character not legible now. This may probably refer to the account of that emperor turning devotee, and being buried here. No doubt this monument was erected in memory of some person (perhaps foreigner) of distinction.†

“ Pass we on till we come to the north-side of the cathedral, on which you may espie a venerable old pile of curious architecture, now called the Old Chapter-house,‡ the place of burial of the earls of Chester, several of the barons, and abbots of St. Werburgh. It was built no doubt before the conquest: what it was originally, or by whom founded, is not now agreed on by those who have given an account thereof. Some will have it to be Roman, and a temple of Apollo, others a Jewish synagogue; both equally ridiculous. It appears to me to have been at first a church, or oratory to a convent, before Hugh Lupus's or earl Leofric's foundation, and that probably it

* See this legend refuted in page 49.

† There is now no remains of these ancient relics visible; nor have I found any mention of them in any of our other historians.

‡ The chapter-house has long since been cleared and repaired, and chapters are now holden in it.

was built by that famous heroine, daughter of king Alfred, sister to Edward the elder, wife to duke Ethelred, the lady Elfreda.

“ If we go forward a little, we pass over a postern-gate, called the Cale-yard-gate, obtained by the abbot and convent of St. Werburgh, 3rd Edward I. It is now made use of as a foot-way from Cow-lane to the Abbey-court, &c. All along on the right-hand, we have a pleasant orchard, called the Cale-yards (of old belonging to the abbey, now to the prebendaries), Cow-lane, Flookersbrook, &c. In order to secure the Cale-yards from being robbed, as also the monks from the insults of the town’s-men, Henry VI. granted power to the abbot and convent of St. Werburgh to lock two gates which had been of old upon the walls between the East-gate and Northgate, and to keep the keys; so that none were allowed to come within the precincts of the abbey on that side, unless in time of war, or for mending the walls.* Near to the postern aforesaid we pass by, on the right-hand, on the walls, the remains of a watch-tower, usually called Sadler’s tower, because the company of sadlers obtained it from the city for a meeting-house.†

“ From this to the next tower, as you walk; you have on the left, at a small distance, the Deanery and the Dean’s orchard‡ in your view. On the right-hand, a fine

* The Cale-yard-gate is still in existence, and is now, as in the time of our author, a considerable thoroughfare by day, but locked at each end during night time. Of the second gate leading to the abbot’s garden, or of its precise situation, no trace at present remains, though the probability is, that it stood nearer to the Northgate. The abbot’s garden appears formerly to have stretched along the walls, from about where the post-office now stands nearly to the North-gate, the present site being occupied on the east by a orchard belonging to the Hop-pole inn, and by a mason’s yard, timber-yard, and a rope-walk.

† Sadler’s Tower stood exactly opposite the end of Abbey-street, but was taken down in the year 1779. There was an outward square projection on the walls, which marked the place where it stood, but this also was enclosed within the wall in the year 1828.

‡ At the time our author here speaks of, the residence of the dean was in the remains of an ancient edifice, formerly known as the church, or rather

distant prospect of rising ground,* at the bottom of which is a meadow, on the other side of the Cale-yards

chapel of St. Thomas the apostle. To this purpose it was converted at the reformation; but about the year 1700, the old building was taken down, and on its site stands the present deanery, a handsome brick mansion, adjoining the Abbey-square, the gardens and orchard behind which are seen from the walls.

* If the writer of this description had lived at the present day, he would have found much more to praise in the prospect from this part of the walls than he has recorded. There are indeed very few districts of country that furnish such interesting objects for delightful admiration, and not many spots more advantageously situated from which to behold the beautiful landscape. In the distance, and to a wide expanse, are the Broxton and Peckforton hills discovered, at whose base stands the old castle of Beeston, rising in the clouds, the shattered battlements and ruined fragments of which are perceptible to the naked eye on a clear summer's day. More to the left the eye skims the ancient forest of Delamere, famed in Cheshire story, till at last, in the same direction, the interesting landscape terminates by a distinct view of the bold and precipitate hill of Helsby. This view embraces an extent of country in a length of more than a dozen miles; while the intermediate scenery from the nearest point to Chester, occupies from eight to ten miles, and is most rich and various, forming throughout a level vale, with a very slight declivity. The church of Waverton, and the church and village of Christleton, appear in view on the right; in the centre the beautiful villas lately built and adorned by T. Dixon, Esq. and the late Alderman Sellar, at Littleton and Vicar's Cross; and on the left, towards Hoole and Newton, the mansions of Lady Broughton, Mr. Brittain, Mr. Sedgwick, the Rev. Mr. Hamilton Ward, Mr. Hesket, Mr. Parker, and Mr. T. Whittell, the whole beautifully wooded, and the land in a luxuriant state of cultivation. Still nearer is seen the lovely hamlet of Flockersbrook, abounding with neatly-built modern dwellings, to which, if the epithet of splendid be inappropriate, the claim of elegance and comfort is justly due; to each of which is appended richly cultivated garden ground. Here are the comfortable residences of Major Cotton, the Rev. John Thorpe, Mr. John Williamson, Mr. Cross, Mr. Lightfoot, Mr. T. Walker, Alderman Booster, Mr. Humble, &c. &c. It is hardly possible to pass this approach to the city, without being reminded of the villas in the neighbourhood of the metropolis; the width of the road, the respectable and good-looking tavern, called the Ermine; the pool of water in front of an excellent footpath on the north side of the road, over-hung with willow-trees; and the clean and rural appearance of the neighbouring cottages—all, all have ever contributed to fix an impression upon my mind such as I have just stated. From this spot to the entrance into the city, the whole road, particularly on the west side, is thickly studded with new-built houses, or rather with numerous streets, so as at present to resemble a town, and indeed, to such importance has it risen, all within the last twenty years, as now to be designated *The New Town*.

and Cow-lane, anciently, and now called the Justing-Croft, wherein tilt and tourney were heretofore practised—a place very proper for these military exercises, both for the combatants, the ground in that low flat not being over hard, and the spectators, who from the walls, and the houses adjoining on the one side, and the gently ascending grounds on the other, might with security and pleasure see the whole of the performance.*

“ Our next advance is to the Phoenix, or Newton Tower, which stands exactly on the north-east angle of our walls ; on the top of which king Charles I. is said to have stood, when he saw the unhappy defeat of his forces at Rowton or rather Waverton-heath, who were on their road to have reinforced the garrison of Chester ; soon after which the garrison retreated over the bridge into Wales. This tower was lately adorned on the south-side with the arms of several companies that meet there.† From hence the walls running westward, on our left we have a prospect of the north-side of the Abbey-court, and the inner Northgate-street.‡ On the right, and adjoining the walls, we behold a deep quarry, at the west end of which stands the house of correction.§ The quarry lay in rubbish and useless, till of late years it was improved and

* The canal beneath the walls now flows through the ancient justing-croft, and part of Queen-street covers the south-side of it. It was probably about the close of the sixteenth century, that these military exercises ceased to be performed.

† Upon the south side of this tower, which was formerly used as a chamber for business, several of the companies had their arms placed ; but of these the phoenix, the crest of the painters' and stationers' company, which were put up in 1613, now only remain. It is much to be desired, that some trifling fund should be raised, and constantly kept, to preserve in repair these only remains of our ancient fortifications.

‡ To render this account correct, it must be taken for granted, that at the time our author wrote, the site of the elegant houses now forming the west range of the Abbey-square, was vacant, as well as that on which the Abbey-green was erected.

§ This place of confinement for city minor delinquents was occupied until 1808 ; it was built in the year 1575. This building and the adjoining premises were purchased by J. Fletcher, Esq. who has converted them into

cultivated, and in a little time is likely to be one of the finest orchards near the city.* And now we approach the North-gate, which has of old been the city-prison."

It will here, however, be necessary for me to leave my old MS. for a short time, in order to address myself to some historical facts connected with the NORTH-GATE†, concerning which my author is less circumstantial than I think the subject demands.

The present is a handsome structure, forming a capacious elliptic arch, of white stone, of the Doric order, divided from two smaller ones at the sides by couples of pillars; it was erected in 1808, on the demolition of the old one, when the city gaol was also taken down, and the prisoners removed to a new building erected on the south side of the infirmary. The design was furnished by the late Mr. Thomas Harrison, and the ceremony of laying the first stone was attended by Earl Grosvenor, the mayor and corporation; the whole being executed at the sole expence of the former munificent individual.

The north side bears this inscription *PORTAM SEPTENTRIONALEM SUBSTRUCTAM ROMANIS VESTIGIIS JAM DILAPSAM IMPENIS SUIS AB INTEGRO*

convenient dwelling-houses, to which there is a good descent by a broad flight of steps; the whole being now rather an ornament than an eye-sore to the passenger.

* The conjecture of my author has been fully realized. This plot of ground, which is part of the property purchased by Mr. Fletcher, with the old house of correction, is remarkably prolific, and during the summer season presents an interesting view to the passenger as he proceeds on the walls.

† Immediately before arriving at the gate; in the direction in which our guide has led the traveller, we must pass a shop on the left hand, level with the walls, at present occupied by Mr. Bateman, an individual who, as well as his son, is truly deserving of honourable mention, for the many small, but useful publications he has given to the world, on the local topography and antiquities of Chester, embellished with numerous wood engravings. Nor is he less entitled to commendation, for several detached engravings of interesting views in the city and neighbourhood. Wherever genius and industry are combined, to these properties candour and good-will will ever be disposed to offer a cordial tribute of respect.

RESTITUENDAM CURAVIT ROBERTUS COMES GROSVENOR, A. R. GEORGII TERTII LI."

And on the south side is the following:—

"INGHOATA GULIELMO NEWELL, ARM. MAI.

M, DCCCVIII.

PREFECTA THOMA GROSVENOR, ARM. MAI.

M, DCCC, X.

THOMA HARRISON, ARCHITECTO."

This gate stands on the most elevated ground in the city, and from its summit, north and south, commands an entire view of the Inner and Upper Northgate streets. But the prospect towards the west, viewed from the gate, and the walls a little lower down, is enchanting, exhibiting the windings of the Dee to its estuary, the light-house at the Point of Ayr, the castle of Flint, the jubilee column on Moel Famme, the whole range of the Clwydian hills, with the church and castle of Hawarden, and the richly cultivated meadows, called the Sands, long recovered from the dominion of the ocean. At each end of the gate is a commodious flight of steps, by which the passenger may descend into the street.*

The ancient gate, over which was a mean and ruinous gaol, was an inconvenient and unseemly pile of buildings. It consisted of a dark, narrow, and inconvenient passage, under a pointed arch, with a postern on the east-side, and the entrance to the gaol on the west. Immediately under the gateway, at the depth of some thirty feet from the level of the street, was a horrible dungeon, to which the only access of air was through pipes, which

* Before I leave this gate, I shall mention a circumstance that occurred near the spot, during the time the footway was repairing, which may be considered extraordinary. A young gentleman, who was mounting the wall at the east end, in order to save the trouble of going round, lost his balance, and fell over. He alighted on the canal towing path below, which in depth is little less than twenty yards, and then rolled into the canal; from whence he was speedily extricated, having neither sustained a broken limb or a serious fracture. It appears his fall had been broken by striking against a projecting portion of the wall about midway in his descent, which alone can account for the little injury he received.

communicated with the street. In this frightful hole, prisoners under sentence of death were confined—itsself a living death.

From time immemorial the keeping of this gate has been confided to the citizens, upon a certain tenure of service, which can neither be honourable nor agreeable to the city, namely, that its officers shall be bound to see the extreme sentence of the law executed upon all malefactors, whether condemned by the city or county courts. There have been various unsatisfactory conjectures respecting the origin of this custom, one of which is noticed by Mr. Pennant, founded upon some old tradition, that a felon was formerly rescued in his way to the gallows by the citizens of Chester, and perhaps by the connivance of the magistrates, who from thence had the disagreeable duty inflicted on them, of executing all county criminals, as well as those of the city. Another speculation is, that in very ancient times, the citizens, tenacious of their privileges, objected to the execution of all laws within the precincts of their jurisdiction, by any authority distinct from their own, and solicited and obtained this distinguished *honour*.

These fabulous stories are as ridiculous as they are destitute of truth, respecting the origin of this custom, which is sufficiently elucidated by some ancient records of the corporation. It is stated in an inquisition taken in the year 1321, for the purpose of ascertaining the tolls payable at each of the city gates, that the mayor and citizens, as keepers of the gate, had a right to certain tolls, for which privilege they were bound to watch the said gate, and the prisoners in the prison of the earl there imprisoned, *to keep the key of the felon's gallows; to hang up all the condemned criminals; to execute the sentence of pillory; proclaim the ban of the earl within the city,* &c. &c.* Another record, entitled, "The Claymes of the citizens of Chester," after reciting their rights to various privileges and immunities, states, that there were certain

* Black book of the city of Chester, p. 30.

customary tenants of the city, *sixteen* in number, who by their tenure were bound to watch the city three nights in the year, which are specified, and also to watch and bring up felons and thieves condemned, as well in the court of the justiciary in Chester in the county there, as before the mayor of Chester in full crown-mote, as far as the gallows, for their safe conduct and charge, under the penalty which thereto attaches; for which services the said customary tenants had certain privileges and exemptions.* This record is without date, but from the names of Sir Hugh Hulse and some others, to whom the houses to which these services were attached belonged, it appears to have been about the year 1400.

This satisfactorily accounts for the origin of that disagreeable task which is so frequently imposed upon the city sheriffs. On examining one of the corporation books, I find an entry, in which the houses held by this tenure are enumerated, and which are still *sixteen* in number. It would convey but little information were I to describe them by their *former* occupiers or owners; and I shall therefore give the list of the *present* tenants, with this observation, that they are exempted from the duty of serving on juries:—

BRIDGE-STREET.		s.	d.
Harp and Crown public house	2	6	
Mr. Brittain's, woollen-draper	2	6	
Messrs. Huntington's, goldsmiths	2	6	
Mrs. Shone's, Lower Bridge-street	2	6	

EASTGATE-STREET.		s.	d.
Messrs. W. & H. Brown's	2	6	
Late Alderman R. Bowers's house	2	6	
House adjoining Royal Hotel, Newgate-street	2	6	
Mr. Gardner's house, cabinet maker	2	6	

NORTHGATE-STREET.		s.	d.
The Fleece Inn	2	6	
Messrs. Potts & Johnson's	2	6	
Late Mr. Chamberlayne's house, Shambles	2	6	

WATERGATE-STREET.		s.	d.
House lately occupied by Mr. Harrison, draper	2	6	
House adjoining	2	6	
Castle and Falcon tavern	2	6	
Moon tavern	2	6	
Late Mr. Barlow's house, opposite Crook-street	2	6	

* Ibid. p. 27.

At the bottom of the original entry, above adverted to, is the following note, in the hand-writing, I am assured, of William Richards, Esq. late town-clerk, a gentleman who is eminently conversant with the ancient usages of the city:—"These rents originated from the above houses being held by a tenure liable to execute criminals for the county and city of Chester, which liability was compounded with the keepers of the Northgate gaol, for the above rents." The keeper of the city gaol, I believe, has an unquestionable claim to these rents; but of late years they have not been collected.

Some efforts, I believe, were made by the sheriffs a few years ago, in order to be relieved from this irksome part of their duty, by a representation to the home secretary, but without success. And it is somewhat surprising that Mr. Peel, who has so much distinguished himself by abrogating old laws founded upon feudal and obsolete customs, should not have yielded to so reasonable a demand. The city of Chester possesses all the attributes and immunities of an independent county, except this disgraceful adjunct, from which it ought in reason to be exempted; there being no other county in the empire upon whose civil officers the burden is cast, of executing the criminal law on culprits beyond their own precincts and jurisdiction. It is high time that the corporate body and the whole of the citizens should cordially unite, in pressing on the government or the legislature the removal of this evil, at once oppressive and expensive.

Before I finally quit this subject, I must say a word or two on another topic, which is supposed, but erroneously, to be intimately connected with it. All the historians I have seen, have confounded and identified the *execution* rents with the *gabel* rents. They appear to me, however, to be totally separate and distinct. That such a tax as *gabel* has existed in Chester, is certain; but it is of so high antiquity, that I cannot discover its origin or object. The term is thus described by Jacob: "*Gabel* (Gabello, Gablum, Gablaglum). In French *Gabelle* i. e. *Fectigal*, hath the same signification among our ancient writers, as *gabelle* hath in France: it is a tax, but hath been variously

used, as for a rent, custom, service, &c. And where it was a payment of rent, those who paid it were termed *gablatores*. *Domesday*. Co. Litt. 213. It is by some authors distinguished from *tribute*; *Gabella est vectigal quod solvitur pro bonis mobilibus; et Tributum est proprie quod fisco vel principi solvitur pro rebus immobilibus*. When the word *Gabel* was formerly mentioned, without any addition to it, it signified the *tax on salt*, though afterwards it was applied to all other taxes.—Now that these *gabel* rents were not applicable to our executions, is obvious, for the number of houses connected with the latter is specified to be *sixteen*, in the earliest document extant, and the same number continues to this day; whereas the *gabel* property, the entries of which I have seen in the old book of the corporation already mentioned, consists of *forty* different and distinct items. The *execution rents* and the *gabel rents* are also entered under distinct heads. The latter consist chiefly of dwelling-houses, and are charged from one shilling to three shillings yearly; but among the items entered are also the following:—

	£.	s.	d.
The heirs of Mr. John Cross, for the Butter Shops, Eastgate-street	0	6	0
The same for the buildings over the butter shops	0	1	0
The Fishers and Drawers in Dee for certain stalls	0	10	0
The Stewards of the Taylors' Company, that no man shall come between them within the City	0	2	0

This will be sufficient to shew, that to whatever purposes and objects the *gabel* rents were applied, they were quite separate and distinct from the *execution rents*. They have long since ceased to be collected.

A short distance from hence, still in a westerly direction, and immediately opposite Messrs. Snape and Bagnall's brewery, an opening has lately been made through the walls, and an arch formed, sufficiently capacious to admit the passage of carriages, by which a convenient road is made from King-street to the Crane, the canal wharf, &c. From this arch, immediately under the walls on the left, is a rope-walk, which extends to the Water Tower, and occupied by T. Whistell, Esq. Parallel

with the walls, on the right, is the line of the Nantwich canal, but of this undertaking a distinct account is hereafter given.

I shall here resume the narrative as it appears in the old MS. above quoted, which having conducted the stranger over the Northgate, proceeds as follows :—

“From hence we go still westward, passing by a small platform, formerly called Morgan’s Mount,* and shortly after, a small tower, formerly called Goblin’s, or Dill’s, since Pemberton’s Parlour, which being ruinous, was of late half of it taken down ; the other half, being a semi-circle, still remains, and arched over, and benched round with stone, makes a very pleasant station,† from whence you have a fine prospect of the Crofts‡, and the west parts of the

* It stands on the right, and is ascended by a flight of steps, underneath which is a sort of chamber apparently one of the stations for a centinel. During the siege, it was mounted with a battery of four guns. The assault upon the city by the parliamentarians in this point, appears to have been most vigorous, as well as most fatal to the besiegers. I have been informed by a gentleman of unquestionable veracity, that in cutting the canal between the North-gate and the basin, a vast number of human skulls and bones were dug up, as well as various implements of war.

† The front still bears the impress of some fine sculpture, which remained entire until the year 1813 ; but partly from the soft and perishable nature of the stone, and partly owing to the mischievous spirit that actuates many of the lower orders of the city, who are continually injuring the walls, both the inscription and the carved work are now almost obliterated. The following, however, may still be collected :—“ year of the glorious reign of Queen Anne, divers large breaches in these walls were rebuilt, and other decays therein, were repaired, two thousand yards of the pace were new Flagged or Paved, and the whole Improved, Regulated, and Adorned, at the expence of One Thousand Pounds and upwards. Thomas Hand, Esq. Mayor, 1701. The Right Honble. William Earl of Derby, Mayor, 1702, who dyed in his Mayoralty.

1702 Michael Johnson,
1703 Matthew Anderson,
1704 Edw. Partington,
1705 Edward Puleston,
1706 Pulest. Partington,
1707 Humphrey Page,
1708 James Mainwaring,

} Esq. Mayor.	Roger Comberbach, Esq. Recorder.	} Murengers.
	William Wilson, Aldn.	
	Peter Bennet, Aldn.	
	and upon the death of the said	
	William Wilson,	
	Edw. Partington, Aldn.	
	Justice of the Peace,	

‡ These crofts formerly comprized the large field on the north side of the Infirmary, the site on which that edifice stands, and the ground occupied by the city gaol, the linen hall, and probably Stanley-place. They were anciently known by the name of *Lady Barrow’s Hay*.

city. In proceeding onward to the north-west angle of the city walls, we have still a prospect of great variety ; at a distance, the long ridge of Flintshire hills, and nearer, Bretton and Bruershall,* which, though at present a new brick pile, has been an ancient seat (Bruershall means hall on the heath) ; and on the right hand we have the lordship of Blacon, Mollington, Crabwall, and our quondam haven, now sanded up, quite forsaken by the old channel of the river. The wrecking of the sand, the decay of the haven, and consequently the want of trade, have been old complaints, at least since Richard the Second's reign. Several have been the benefactions to this city from many kings of England on these accounts ; and an act of parliament was of late years granted to remedy these grievances ; but all has proved hitherto ineffectual ;† so that we may truly say,

———— Jamque herba est ubi portus erat.

“On the north-west angle of the walls, stands a thorough-fare tower, with a very hard name, being anciently called Bonewaldesthorne's Tower. This leads to the New Tower, by many steps descending over a gateway which gives passage to carriages from the old haven and other places

* Brewer's-hall, in ancient records written Bruershalgh and Bruardshalgh, was as early as the reign of Edward I. in the family of the Bradfords, who were succeeded by the Trussells ; from the latter it passed by a female heir, to the Veres, earls of Oxford, who in virtue of the same alliance had the serjeantship of the East-gate of the city. Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, conveyed Brewer's-hall in the year 1580 to Hugh Beeston ; in 1597 it belonged to Sir Thomas Egerton ; it was afterwards for several generations in the family of Alderman Wright, of whom it was purchased about the middle of the last century by William Hanmer, Esq. of Iscoyd, in the county of Flint. This ancient spot, which is now reduced to a farm-house of about the second class, is the property of Lord Viscount Curzon, whose first wife was daughter and sole heiress of Mr. Hanmer. A battery was planted on this elevated position by the parliamentary forces, during the siege, by which great injury was done to the western parts of the city.

† The first act of parliament for improving the navigation of the Dee, was obtained in 1700 ; and this pretty clearly fixes the date of the MS. to soon after that period.

to the Watergate,* and through a pier embattled on both sides, which joins the New Tower to a corner of the city walls. The tower, though it still retains the name of *new*, was built as early as the year 1322, by one Helpstone, a Freemason, who undertook the building for 100*l*. It is round, ten yards and a half in diameter, and in height, 24 yards, having at convenient distances loop-holes for cannons to play on such as will be so hardy as by force to enter our haven. On the outside of this tower are fixed great iron rings, being of use heretofore for mooring the ships,† &c. From the top of this tower is a fine prospect of the county of Flint, the garden of Wales, especially the eastern parts thereof, along which the river Dee gently glides till she enters the sea."



* This carriage road must have run immediately under the walls along the Tower-field.

† It is certain that long before the period in which this was written, vessels had ceased to approach this tower. Old Fuller, in his *Worthies* of the city, concludes his account with the following patriotic wish:—"And now being to take our leave of this ancient and honourable city, the worst that I wish it is, that the distance between Dee and the New Tower may be made up, all obstructions being removed, which cause or occasion the same; that the rings on the new tower (now only for sight) may be restored to the service for which they were first intended, to fasten vessels thereunto: That vessels on that river (lately degenerated from ships into barks) may grow up again to their former strength and stature." Fuller published his book in 1607.

Under the walls at this angle, and very near to the Water Tower, is a postern, which leads to the sluice-house, and the Ellesmere canal wharf, where a respectable tavern is built, and where also stand some spacious and commodious warehouses, suitable for the extended intercourse which subsists between this city and the Mersey, and of which more particular notice will be taken when we come to speak of the trade of Chester. The passage under the walls in this direction is probably of ancient date, and would be useful as a ready access to vessels when they could ride close by the Water Tower; but it is most likely that the old postern was a few yards to the westward of the present, where an old arch is still visible, now filled up, and which appears to have been the original road to the water side. Below the tower is a circular arch, under which the tide flowed before the embankment of the Dee.

“From this tower (continues our old guide) let us descend, and mount once more the walls. Setting out from hence, we go direct south, having on our left the same prospect of the city as before, only a little varied.* On the right, the strand, not foetid and unwholesome, as in many places, but dry and sandy.”† In the interval between the Water Tower and the WATER-GATE, on the left, stand some good modern-built edifices, namely, the infirmary, the city gaol,‡ and a fine open area, formed by

* This remark is confirmatory of my former conjecture, that the *Crofts*, that is, green fields, extended in a south direction, from the north side of the walls to the Watergate-street.

† What our author here denominates the *Strand*, no doubt comprized that portion of land which surrounded and stood between the water-tower and the river, and to a considerable extent towards Blacon; on part of which site are the Crane and Paradise-streets; and that fine plot of ground called the Tower Field, the property of the corporation, now rented by the guardians of the poor, for the cultivation of which able-bodied paupers are very properly and advantageously employed.

‡ A circumstance occurred on this portion of the walls six or seven years ago, worthy of record. Two of our city police had apprehended a

two ranges of buildings, called Stanley-place; but of these, more hereafter.

The WATER-GATE consists of a wide and lofty arch, thrown over the street, where the rapid descent adds much to its apparent elevation; on the south end is also a small postern. On the western side is this inscription: IN THE XXXIX YEAR OF THE REIGN OF GEO. III. IN THE

MAYORALTY OF JOHN HALLWOOD AND JOHN LEIGH, ESQUIRES, THIS GATE WAS ERECTED.—THOMAS COTTEHAVE, EDWARD BURROWS, ESQUIRES, MURENGERS.

The old gate is represented in Hollar's map of Chester, as a simple arch, without towers, or other additions; the present gate was erected on its site in 1788, and the expense discharged by a sum raised out of the murage duties. The custody of this gate was purchased by the city about 1778, from the Earl of Derby, to whose ancestors it had probably passed with the barony of Montalt, and the adjacent rectory of Trinity, and been considered anciently an appendage of the seneschalship of the earldom. The serjeant of this gate executes the mayor's processes on the Dee.

man in the suburbs, for passing base money, but not having received his committal in form, determined upon lodging him in the House of Correction, at the east front of the City Gaol. Before placing him in durance, and when near at the point of destination, the culprit is said to have begged hard for a cheering glass ere he was incarcerated, and the constables consented to accompany him into an adjacent public-house, where he treated them *handsomely*. He was then marshalled between them; but when they arrived at the door of the prison, the wily rogue, by a vigorous movement of his arms right and left, disentangled himself from his guards, and springing forward, set off at score down the avenue between the boundary walls of the Infirmary and the Gaol. Nor was the wall available to stop his progress, but placing his hands upon the battlements, he flew over, and according to the laws of gravitation, found no resting-place till he alighted in the Tower Field, a descent of between thirty and forty feet. For a moment or two the poor fellow seemed to be stunned by the shock; but gathering himself up again, he pursued his course across the field; as if nothing had happened. The peace officers did not appear to feel so strong an interest in his recapture as he did in his escape, for not liking to follow him in a direct line, while they were prudently seeking a more circuitous and safer course, their prisoner made his retreat good.—This man was subsequently convicted of another offence, and I believe has been sent out of the country.

Our author, having conducted us over the Watergate, says, "Had we lived a brace of centuries ago, we should have met with one of the finest prospects in or about the city: for on the left hand, almost adjoining to the walls, you would have seen the Black Friars, Grey Friars, Nunnery, and the Castle;* all which, except the last, are so altered, or altogether in ruins, that one could scarce imagine there were any such places.† On the right, your eye is entertained with the most beautiful peninsula (if we respect the river Dee, encompassing a great part thereof,) or amphitheatre, (if we look upon the high banks on the other side the river, and the walls of the city almost surrounding it) that perhaps you shall any where meet with. This charming plot of ground, is called the Rood-eye (vulgo, Roodee), from a rood or cross that stood thereon. It was formerly overflowed with water upon high tides;‡ so that the cross seemed to

* At the time of this description being written, the whole ground lying between the walls and the east side of Nicholas-street, from the Watergate to Smith's Walk, appears to have been void and open, and within the memory of persons now living, was used as a croft. At the present day, this part of the city presents a very different appearance. An elegant range of buildings is erected, forming the west side of Nicholas-street, occupied by some of the most respectable gentry in the city; in the intermediate space between thence and the walls, is a parallel line of stabling and coach-houses; and still nearer to the latter, are the delightfully situated dwellings and premises of Mr. Wright, Mr. Posnet, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Palin, and others, to most of which are attached excellent gardens.

† There is perhaps a greater paucity of information respecting the ancient Friaries in Chester, than concerning any other subject connected with our ancient city, of so recent a date. From the uncertain, and sometimes confused accounts related by our local historians, much is left to conjecture, both as it respects their constitution, the exact date of their origin and demolition, and even of their precise site. To elucidate these subjects, the reader may be assured the utmost diligence has been used; and where history is silent, collateral and incidental facts are employed to aid the deficiency.

‡ In ancient times there is no doubt but this fine piece of ground was covered by the waters. This is manifest from an award in 1401, that it could not be tithed by the rector of Trinity, in consequence of its being land recovered from the sea. It very probably lay open to the intrusion of high tides till about the year 1587; it was leased for 21 years (an. 20. Elis.) to Thomas Lyniall, merchant, being "of late greatly decayed and impaired, and likely to be more wasted;" with permission for him to embank as much

stand in the water ; in old English called *eye* ; from both, called *Rood-eye*.* Hereon were anciently and are still

land as he could from the Dee, and to have a toll of 2d. from every boat going in or out, in consideration of his making a sufficient quay there, and paying £20. per annum to the corporation.—*Harl. MSS.* The work was interrupted by the citizens, who received a reprimand from Sir Francis Walsingham thereupon, after which it proceeded ; and Mr. Pennant apprehends the present dyke or cop to have originated in Llynall's embankment. The measures adopted to confine the Dee within its channel, in this part of its course are generally efficient ; though sometimes, at very high tides, the water rises so as to cover the lower part of Paradise Row, but which, speedily disappears on the reflux of the tide. On the 24th of April, in the present year (1830), however, one of the highest spring tides known to human memory, occurred, which rose to a level with the Roodeye embankment, inundated a considerable portion of the race course on the west side ; rendered the lower part of Paradise-row impassable ; overflowed the Groves and the opposite meadows ; carried away and otherwise damaged some of the works erected for the building of the new bridge, and did many other injuries. This extraordinary influx was partly occasioned by a very strong north-west wind, which blew directly up the river during the whole time of the rising of the tide.

* Among the MS. collections of the late Rev. Thomas Crane, now in my possession, I find the following note, which may be useful not only as an etymological explanation, but as containing also some information on two or three other points :—" *Rode*, for cross is entirely Saxon. Many years later this word was spelt *Rood*. Architects yet talk of the *rood loft* in churches, a gallery where a cross was always placed in view of the congregation, and sometimes a crucifix of gold or silver, richly ornamented. The race ground in Chester is called the *Rood-Dee*, i.e. the Dee cross, to distinguish it from the cross anciently standing at St. Michael's and St. Peter's, because a stone cross was erected on the race ground formerly, to mark the boundary of the land there belonging to the Nuns of Chester. The shaft of this cross is yet standing on that part of the Rood-Dee which is opposite to the old Nun's Gardens."

In this conjecture there seems to be a good deal of probability ; but I leave my readers to decide whether the following relation of the origin of this famous cross be entitled to the same degree of credibility : It is given by Mr. Willett, in his History of Hawarden Parish, who says it is a correct translation from an old Saxon manuscript. Whether true or otherwise, it is curious ; but without another prefatory word, it is here produced. " In the sixth year of the reign of Conan (ap Ellis ap Anarawd) King of (Gwyneth, or) North Wales (which was about A. D. 946) there was in the Christian Temple at a place called Harden, in the Kingdom of North Wales, a Rood loft, in which was placed an image of the Virgin Mary, with a very large cross, which was in the hands of the image, called Holy Rood ; about this time there happened a very hot and dry summer, so dry, that there was not grass for the cattle ; upon which, most of the inhabitants went and prayed to the image, or Holy Rood, that it would cause it to rain, but to no purpose : amongst the rest, the Lady Trawst (whose husband's name was Sytsylht, a

performed, the exercises or recreations of shooting with bows and arrows, running, bowling, and horse-racing; the last of which brings a great concourse of people from all parts, by the great advantage there is of viewing from the walls and other eminences the whole of the sport with safety as well as pleasure. Since a bank or cop was of late raised on the river side, to prevent its overflowing this ground, it is one of the richest pastures in England of its compass."

The Roodeye contains between 80 and 100 statute acres of land, and is let by the corporation as a pasture for cattle during the summer, excepting a short interval during and immediately after the races. Here the city games, and gymnastic sports were formerly celebrated, of which descriptions have already been given. Of these

Nobleman and Governor of Harden Castle) went to pray to the said Holy Rood, and she praying earnestly and long, the image, or Holy Rood, fell down upon her head and killed her; upon which a great uproar was raised, and it was concluded and resolved upon, to try the said image for the murder of the said Lady Trawst, and a Jury was summoned for this purpose, whose names were as follow, viz.

Hincot of Hancot, Span of Mancot,
 Leech and Leach, and Cumberbeach;
 Peet and Pate, with Corbin of the Gate,
 Milling and Hughet, with Gill and Pughet;—

who, upon examination of evidences, declare the said Lady Trawst, to be wilfully murdered by the said Holy Rood, and guilty of the murder, and also guilty in not answering the many petitioners; but whereas the said Holy Rood being very old and done, she was ordered to be hanged—but Span opposed that, saying, they wanted rain, and it would be best to drown her—but was fiercely opposed by Corbin, who answered, as she was Holy Rood, they had no right to kill her, but he advised to lay her on the sands of the river, below Harden Castle, from whence they might see what became of her, which was accordingly done; soon after which, the tide of the sea came and carried the said image to some low land (being an island) near the walls of the city called Caer Leon (supposed Chester), where it was found the next day, drowned and dead; upon which the inhabitants of Caer Leon, buried it at the place where found, and erected a monument of stone over it, with this inscription:—

"The Jews their God did crucify,
 The Hardenses their's did drown;
 'Cause with their wants she'd not comply,
 And lies under this cold stone."

the horse races now alone remain, which still continue to be held during the first whole week in May, commencing on the Monday and continuing five days. The course, which has recently been altered and improved, forms a distance of somewhat more than a mile, and affords the singular advantage, as already noticed, of the spectators from every point being enabled to see the horses during the whole race.

The annual return of these festivities is peculiarly useful to the city, if it were for nothing else than as immediately previous to their approach, the whole place is renovated in cleanliness and decorations, painters, whitewashers, and char-women all being placed in requisition. In fact, a stranger will always find Chester in its best trim at the races; and for this the inhabitants are not only repaid by securing an essential mean of health, but many of them also remunerated by the profits derived from an immense influx of affluent visitors. At this season, the attendance of distinguished families is very great from all parts of the county, as well as from Lancashire, Shropshire, the Principality, and other parts of the kingdom. For their accommodation, there are several excellent hotels and other capital inns, and very superior accommodations are also provided by private families. The attractions of these races to the lovers of the turf have for many years been greatly on the increase, and Chester may now be ranked at least in the second class of places of celebrity in the sporting world.

About the year 1760, the amount of the prizes contended for, did not generally exceed 300*l.* each year, at present, their value is not less than 3000*l.*; the number of horses then brought to the races did not average more than seven or eight; the number, of late years, not less than from seventy to eighty, and in 1830, to more than eighty. In the year 1817, a grand stand was erected opposite the starting-post, the back part communicating with the walls by an iron gate and platform, and was considerably enlarged in 1829. The structure first built was at an expence of 2500*l.* raised by shares of 50*l.* each; but

whether the money necessary for the addition was raised by an increased value upon each share, or an increase in the number of subscribers, I have not learnt. It is enough for my purpose to observe, that the accommodations have been abundantly satisfactory to the gentry, and the result not less so to the proprietors, who, after dividing a dividend that contents them, appropriate a sum for a hundred pound cup, and add several handsome sums to increase the value of other stakes.*

Pursuing the walls in a southerly direction, on the left there is a commodious opening to the city, called Smith's Walk, at the bottom of which stands a mansion, more remarkable for the largeness of its bulk than its elegance, the northern portion of which is occupied by E. O. Wrench, Esq. its proprietor, and the other by the Miss Foulkes's. The site of this mansion was anciently occupied by the priory of the White Friars, or Carmelites. A narrow avenue, but of very early date, descending from Martin's Ash to the walls, called Wall's-lane, divides this building from a large space of ground, named the Nun's Garden, where formerly stood the nunnery of St. Mary, and said to have been founded, or probably only removed

* For the nobility and gentry this edifice yields the most perfect accommodation; and to the lower orders, the walls afford an excellent view. The situation, however, is capable of an intermediate advantage, which, while it would be gratifying to the middling classes, would certainly give pecuniary remuneration to the undertakers; and if such an improvement should ever be decided upon, the stand committee would be the most suitable persons under whose auspices it should be carried into effect. The plan to which reference is here made would be to erect galleries from that part of the walls opposite Smith's Walk, between the abutments outside, to consist of four or five seats in depth, in a declining position, which might extend forty or fifty yards towards the grand stand, and which, being boarded or slated over, would be an equal protection from the heat of the sun and the descending showers, while the view from the walls would still remain perfectly uninterrupted. The opening of a flight of steps from the first-mentioned spot to the Roodeye would also serve as a desirable adjunct to this erection, at the same time that it would open a communication from the race-ground to the city, which would materially lessen the inconvenience occasioned by the great pressure of the crowd in coming up Watergate-street. A moderate charge for accommodation would well pay the expence of such a building.

to this situation, by the second Randal, Earl of Chester. There is no vestige of this ancient building now remaining; though not many years back, while this piece of ground was occupied as a garden, some reliques of the ancient edifice were visible. My author, from whom I have so largely quoted, who, as before remarked, wrote nearly a hundred and thirty years back, says, that the buildings then "were so altered, or altogether in ruins, that one could scarce imagine there had been any such places." This nunnery continued till the dissolution of the smaller monasteries,* when, though its revenues, according to Dugdale, did not exceed 66*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* per annum, clear income, its community seems not to have been small, for it appears that in 1553, nearly twenty years after the surrender of the convent, there were thirteen of the nuns living and enjoying pensions.† The site of this nunnery was granted in 1541 to Urian Brereton the elder, and Urian Brereton the younger. Nun's-hall continued to be the seat of the Brereton's till the reign of Charles I. when it was destroyed during the siege of the city. Another mansion, afterwards called Nun's-hall, built probably soon after the civil wars, stood on the east end of the garden, but not on it, or connected with it. This house was at one time the property and residence of the Holmes's, the Cheshire antiquaries, and was subsequently occupied by Mr. Harrison as an office, and as a depository for his models; but the edifice, has been demolished, to make way for the stupendous improvements for many years in progress by the county authorities. Almost all this property extending to the Castle-ditch, belonged to the

* In the late Rev. T. Crane's collections, I find the following note :—
 "The Nuns had one chapel within the walls, and another called Little St. Mary's, in *Kettle's Croft*, close by the river side. Long after the dissolution, when a high flood had carried down a great part of the wall of the chapel in *Kettle's Croft*, two chapel bells were found in the rubbish. When Mr. Wrench, the proprietor of the Nun's Gardens, was sinking the cellar of a house intended for the gardener, a tessellated floor was discovered."

† For further particulars respecting this establishment, see *Decayed Religious Houses*.

late E. O. Wrench, Esq. who sold the gardens to the county magistrates, in order to give room for carrying into effect the magnificent plans designed by the late Mr. Harrison. In consideration of the high claims of this gentleman to the gratitude of the county, for his professional services, the county magistrates made him a grant of this fine plot of ground, which is now occupied as a pasture, at the north end of which Mr. Harrison erected a good mansion, surrounded on the west by the walls, on south and east by iron pallisading, and each wing protected by a thick shrubbery, planted under the direction of his friend, Dr. Thackeray. In the year 1829, this celebrated architect, full of days, and in possession of imperishable fame, closed his mortal career, his widow and two daughters still occupying the same house.*

Passing on the walls along this field, to the left is presented a delightful view of the new church of St. Bride's, the barracks, the whole front of the county hall, with its grand entrance, the armoury, and the ancient castle; and if at present, the prospect on the right is less imposing, yet are we warranted in anticipating, that a very short period will supply the view with one of the finest, and certainly in some respects, one of the most magnificent bridges in the kingdom, including Overleigh, and the projected Gothic lodge, intended to be erected by Earl Grosvenor, on the entrance of his carriage road for Eaton-hall.

Having passed the site of the Nun's Gardens, we arrive at the ancient Sallyport-steps, which lead to a delightful walk on the river side, on what is called the Roodeye-cop; and close by this point, the road or approach to the new bridge, raised to a level, crosses the walls, where it is presumed a fine arch will be erected, to correspond in appearance with the one at Earl Grosvenor's lodge at Overleigh, both being nearly upon a level, and each within a near view of the other.† This

* See a biographical sketch of Mr. Harrison, under the head of "Distinguished natives and residents of Chester."

† If an humble individual might be allowed to offer a suggestion on a public topic, I would just ask, what could be more appropriate, than for

is not the place, however, to enter into the particulars of this stupendous undertaking, which will deserve a more particular detail, and be given among the recent improvements in the city. From the Sallyport-steps, the wall takes an easterly direction, till on the right the view is entirely obstructed by large and numerous buildings, chiefly warehouses and workshops in Skinner's-lane; and on the left, by the boundary wall of the castle, for the enlargement of which, several old buildings have lately been pulled down on the side of the castle ditch. This portion of the walls may be taken as the least pleasant, or rather as the most disagreeable in the whole circuit, not only because of the narrowness and darkness of the walking path, but on account of the offensive stench arising from some pyroligneous acid works betwixt and the river, and the workshops of skimmers; who from time immemorial, have carried on their trade on this spot. This has ever been considered a material drawback from the pleasure of this healthful promenade; but there is at present a reasonable prospect of speedily seeing the cause of this complaint entirely removed.* Upon the outside

these two edifices to correspond in their size and the form of their structure? What could give greater *clat* to the fabric over the city walls, than that the first stone should be laid by the young heir of the house of Eaton? Or what more suitable with the nature of the edifice, or its peculiar situation, than that it should bear the cognomen of "*Hugh Lupus's Arch*?"

* While the preceding sheet was passing through the press, the author ascertained the fact, that the county magistrates were on the point of completing contracts for the purchase of those numerous piles of buildings, consisting of warehouses, workshops, &c. which lie between the walls and the river, and from the pyroligneous works opposite the castle ditch to the Dee mills. It is intended that all these ponderous buildings shall be levelled with the ground, and comprehended within the boundary wall of the castle, the space to be appropriated for erecting workshops for prisoners sentenced to hard labour, and for the more perfect classification of other culprits. This arrangement will render a diversion of the walls necessary, and from what I have been able to collect, from good authority, their new direction will commence near the pyroligneous works, take a south-eastern line near to the Dee, which they will skirt for forty or fifty yards, and then turn to the north-east, joining the present line of the walls, a few paces before reaching the Bridge-gate. They will thus form a half-circle, the castle boundary all along being immediately on the left. Of the aggregate amount of expence in the purchase of those extensive premises mentioned, and the sums necessary for

of the wall, where it forms an angle at the bottom of Skinner's-lane, are to be seen numerous marks of cannon shot, discharged during the siege of Chester in the great rebellion. These *weighty* arguments against "popery,

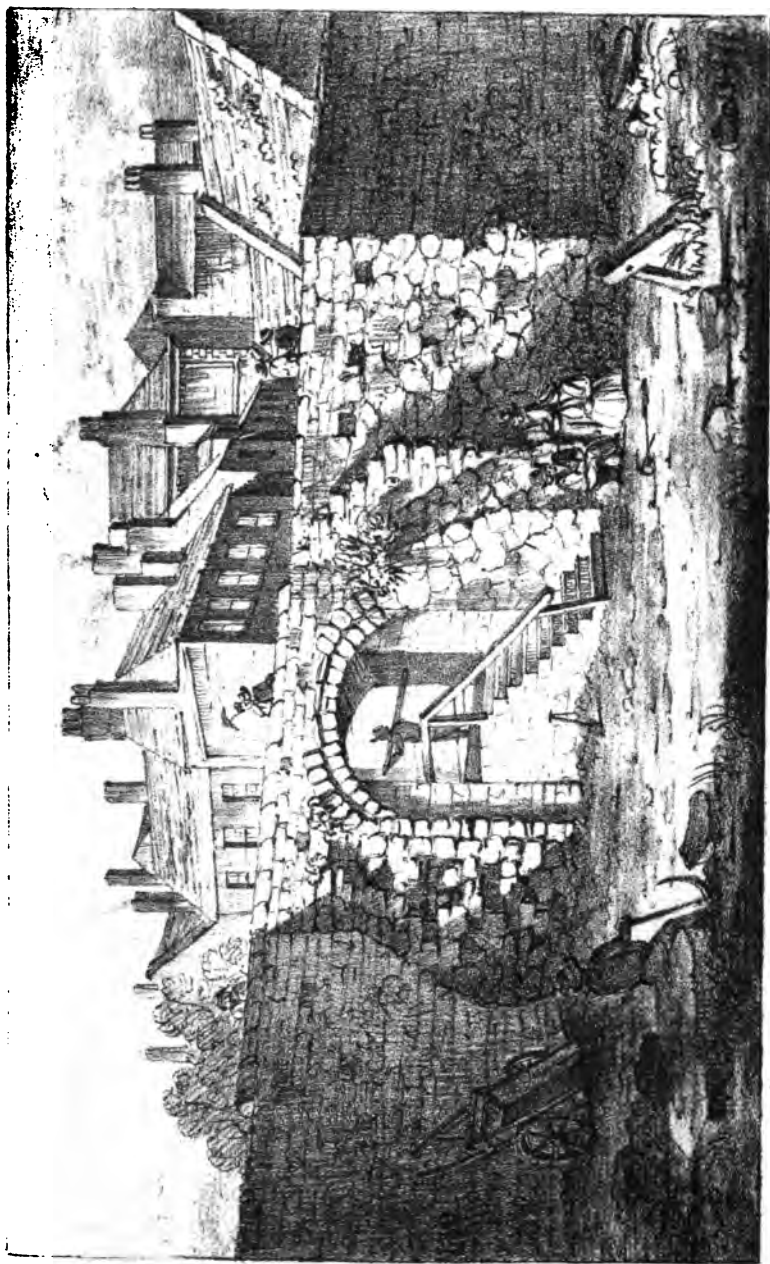
carrying into effect the immense improvements contemplated, I am not apprized; but neither this, nor any other county would be able to sustain the numerous expences incurred about our castle, and precincts, without such a powerful adjunct to the county rates as our productive river Weaver. This river has long been a source of beneficial aid to the county improvements, and a short history of it may not be uninteresting, abridged from Ormerod's Cheshire:—"The first act for rendering the Weaver navigable from Frodsham Bridge to Winsford passed in 1720, and in this the principal nobility and gentry were made commissioners for settling differences between the first undertakers and the proprietors of lands that were to be used for effecting the said navigation. These original undertakers, who subscribed in the whole £9600, were to have five per cent. interest, and £1. per cent. for risque, with power for borrowing more, and a reasonable allowance for their trouble; and it was further enacted, that after the work should be finished, and all charges paid off, the clear produce of the rates and duties accruing from the navigation should 'from time to time be employed for and towards amending and repairing the public bridges within the said county of Chester, and such other public charges upon the said county, and in such manner as the justices of the peace, at the quarter sessions to be held next week after the feast of St. Michael, in and for the said county of Chester, shall yearly order.' The original undertakers were the "Hon. Langham Booth, "Sir George Warburton, Bart. "John Egerton, Esq. Henry Legh, Esq. Randle Dodd, Esq. John Anson, Esq. Phillip Egerton, D. D. Henry Mainwaring, Esq. Thomas Vernon, Esq. "Richard Vernon, gent. Israel Atherton, gent. John Williams, Esq. Peter Warburton, Esq. James Mainwaring, Esq. These marked " subscribed £1000, the others £50. The annual inspection of the river by the trustees, who consist of the principal nobility, gentry, and clergy of the county, occupies two days; on the first they proceed in their barge from Winsford to Northwich, and on the next from Northwich to Weston Point, and return to Acton Bridge, dining on board. Another act was passed to amend the same in 1759, and a third passed in 1807, to amend the two preceding ones, and to authorize the trustees to open a more convenient communication between the river near Frodsham Bridge, and the river Mersey near Weston Point. The communication has for several years been completed, and various other cuts and improvements have from time to time been made in the higher part of the river, and the receipt of the trust upon the gross average income amounts to about £16,000 per annum. The surplus revenue is laid out under the direction of the magistrates in aid of the county rate, and a large proportion of the expences of the castle of Chester, and the Knutsford gaol and sessions house have been defrayed by it." Old Lady Weaver certainly places an immense annual revenue in the hands of the magistrates, but many of our county rate payers are so captious as to deprecate it as an evil, rather than an advantage.

prelacy, and schism," were directed by the Puritans from a battery erected on the opposite side of the river, on the spot where Overleigh cottage now stands.

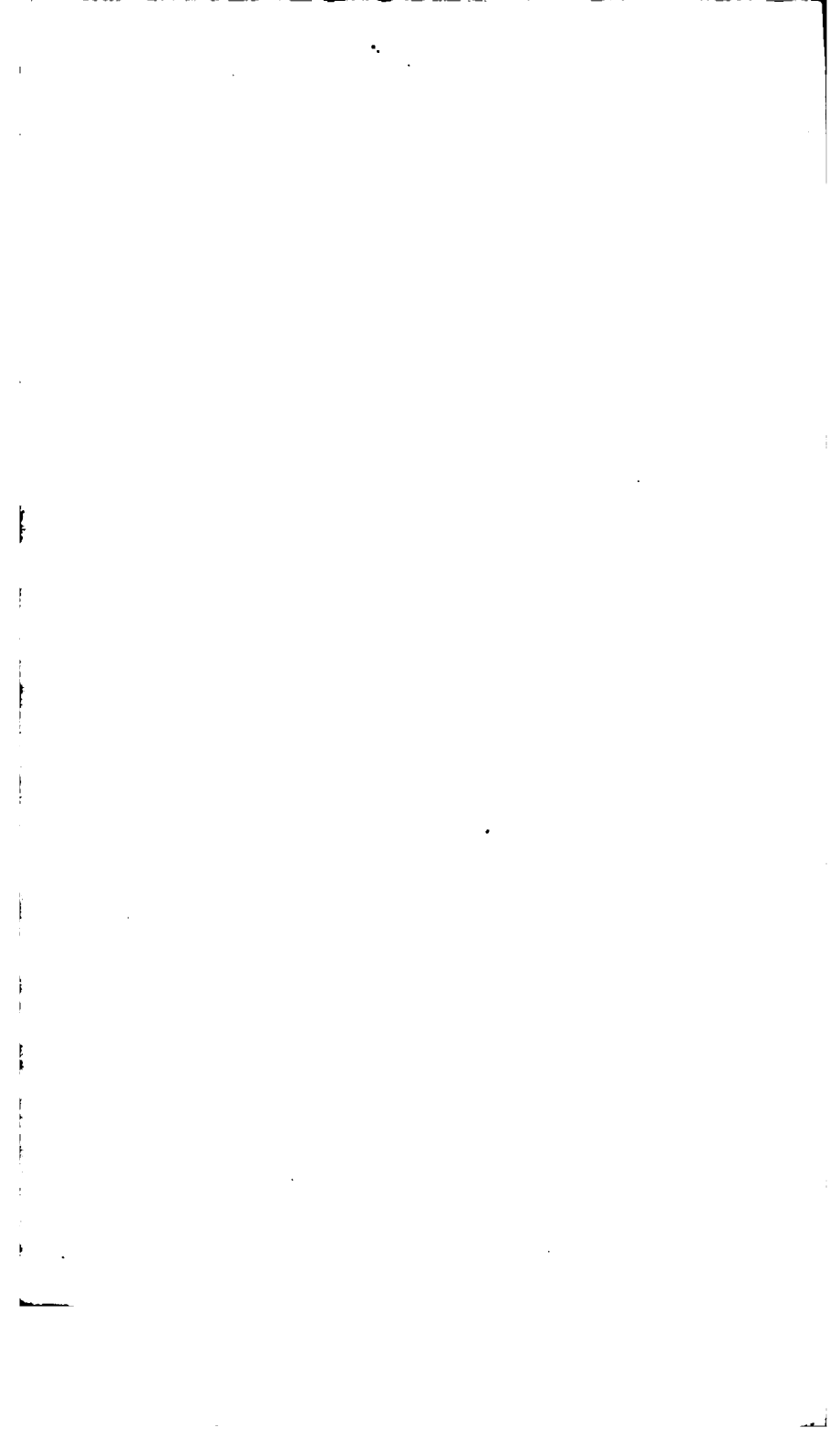
In this narrow and inconvenient part of the walls I am now describing, there is a postern which has always been considered by our best historians and antiquaries, as a genuine relique of the ancient Roman colonists. This gateway, which is situated about seventy paces before we arrive at the Bridge-gate, consists of a large round arch, decidedly of Roman workmanship. On the south side it is now filled with more modern masonry, and a passage left through a smaller arch of a very eccentric form, and on the north, within the very passage, is the appearance of another round arch now filled up. This postern in all ancient documents is called *The Ship-gate*, but is perhaps better known in modern times by the name of *The Hole in the Wall*. In mentioning its original name, an old author now before me, says, "it was so called, as tradition informs us, not only because ships of burden in times past came and unloaded near it, but also from its being the landing-place to the ferry from Handbridge and that side the river, before our bridge, and consequently the Bridge-gate, which is not far distant, was built." In this sentiment the ingenious Pennant concurs. He remarks, "that this postern seems originally to have been designed for the common passage over the Dee into the country of the Ordovices, either by means of a boat at high water, or by a ford at low, the river here being remarkably shallow. What reduces this to a certainty is, that the rock on the Handbridge side is cut down, as if for the conveniency of travellers. And immediately beyond, in the field called *Edgar's*, in which stands the *Diva Armigera Pallas*,* are the vestiges of a road pointing up the hill; and which was continued towards *Bonium*, the present Bangor."

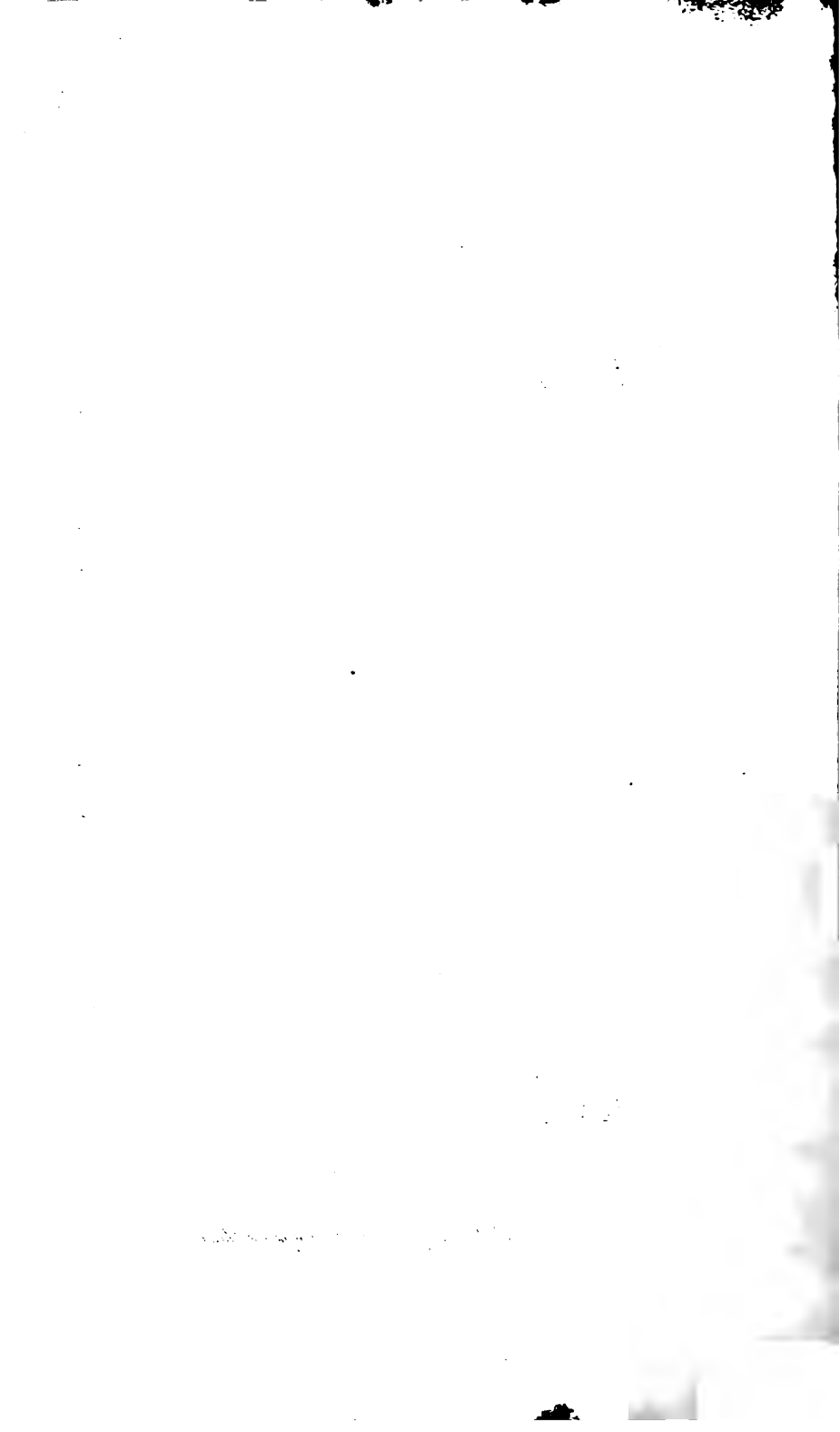
The circumstances of the *Ship-gate* being referable to the Roman times, gives a decided negative to the legends

* See article on Chester Antiquities.



View of the Old Hemmell Arch, near the Shippendale, in Chester,
previously to its being removed in 1830.
Drawn by T. Hartley & D. W. Evans for Hemmingsway's Chester.







BRIDGE GATE.



NORTH GATE.

Engraved by Musgrave for Hemingway's Chester.

of the monkish historians, that the castle formerly stood without the walls, and that their circuit was enlarged to double their former extent by the Mercian countess Ethelfleda. This has been an oft-repeated story, foisted into most of our ancient histories, without the least appearance of truth for its authority, and which, independent of the existence of this ancient postern, is disproved by the well-ascertained fact, as before noticed, that the present form of the walls is entirely Roman, and denotes clearly, that they occupy the same site as those of the Roman town. But, from what has been observed, it appears the time is at hand, when this old postern, at once a specimen and proof of Roman art amongst us, is to be consigned to the fate of all mundane objects, entire extinction. The proposed enlargement of the walls, by enclosing the buildings within Skinner's-lane, will of course render the demolition of this arch necessary; and not a vestige will remain, but what the page of history records, or what may be preserved by the graphic art. I have caused a drawing of it to be taken, which accompanies this work. Pursuing the walls from this point, and after passing a paper mill, and the works of the old water company, we ascend by two or three steps

THE BRIDGE-GATE,

A handsome modern structure, having two posterns, erected in 1782, at the expence of the corporation. On a tablet of marble over the western postern, is the following inscription:—

"THIS GATE WAS BEGUN APRIL, M.DCC.LXXXII.—PATTISON ELLAMES, MAYOR, AND FINISHED DECEMBER THE SAME YEAR, THOMAS PATTISON, ESQUIRE, MAYOR.

THOMAS COTGREAVE, ESQ. }
HENRY HENKETH, ESQ. } MURENGERS.

JOSEPH TURNER, ARCHITECT."

On another tablet on the east side:—

"THIS GATE HAVING BEEN LONG INCONVENIENT, WAS TAKEN DOWN A.D. M.DCC.LXXXI.

JOSEPH SNOW, ESQ. MAYOR.

THOMAS AMERY, }
HENRY HEGG, } TREASURERS."

The first stone of this gate was laid with great form by Mr. Ellames, attended by the corporation, and the ancient and honourable Society of Free Masons. In the stone was sunk a brass plate, with the following inscription :

“Pattison Ellames, of this city, Chester, laid this stone in the year of the Christian æra 1782, as D. Provincial Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons. A numerous procession of brethren attended.—A.L. 5782.

Thomas Cotgreave, and
Henry Hesketh, Esquires, } Aldermen and Murengers.
Joseph Turner, Architect.”

“At this time France, Spain, and the States of Holland, leagued with the British American colonies (now in open and ungrateful rebellion) are endeavouring the destruction of the empire of Britain! her freedom! her religion! her laws! and her honor! in support of which blessings, her armies and navies are bravely contending in every quarter of the globe.—*May the God of Armies go forth with them!*”

At this precise moment, the gratifying news arrived in Chester, of the signal victory of Admiral Rodney, in the West Indies, over the French fleet; when the record of that memorable event was indorsed on the back of the same plate, in the following terms:—

“The great and joyful news was announced this day, of the British fleet, under the command of Admirals Rodney, Hood, and Drake, having defeated the French fleet, in the West Indies, taking the French Admiral de Grasse, and five ships of the line, and sunk one. The battle continued close and bloody for eleven hours.”

The old gate consisted of an arched gateway, flanked with two strong round towers, on one of which was erected a lofty octagonal tower, which served as a cistern for supplying the city with water, called Tyrer's water-works. This tower was erected about the year 1601, and although it remained until taking down the gate in 1781, it had long ceased to be used for its original purpose.

The mention of the custody of this gate occurs for the first time in the following deed of the time of Thomas

de Boulton ;* but it is supposed to be attended to in an earlier deed (preserved in the archives of the Earl of Shrewsbury, with others relating to this tenure) by which Randal earl of Chester confirms a donation of his countess to Poyns, her servant, of certain premises near the castle, "*habere suo servicio.*" Witnesses, Fulco de Bricasart, Benedict, brother of the earl, William Pincerna, Philip the chamberlain, and others. The following deed from the same archives, is very remarkable. It appears thereby that the ancestors of Richard Bagath had held by certain services the serjeancy of the Bridge-gate, and being incompetent from poverty and inability to discharge the same, particularly in war time, released it in a portmote court, to Philip, the clerk, citizen of Chester, and his heirs. Thomas Boulton, therein mentioned, was justice of Chester 1269-70.

Sciant, &c. quod ego Ricardus Bagoth de Cestr' dedi, &c. et omnino quetam clamavi Philippo clerico, civi Cestr', totum jus meum, &c. in porta pontis Cestr' cum omnia pertinentiis suis. Habend', &c. eidem Philippo et heredibus suis, vel suis assignatis, libere, &c. sicut ego et antecessores, mei habere consuevimus, faciend' servicium debitum et consuetum domino capitali sicut ego et antec' mei facere consuevimus. *Et quia servicium dicte porte propter paupertatem et inpotenciam debito modo et maxime in guerra sustinere non potui*, predictum jus meum, &c. dicto Philippo et heredibus suis, &c. in pleno portmote Cestr' coram domino Thom' de Boulton tunc justic' Cestr' omnino concessi et per presens scriptum quietum clamavi. Et ad majoram hujus rei securitatem habendam, huic presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hijs testibus, domino T. de B. tunc j. Cestr', Ricardo clerico tunc majore Cestr', Johanne Arneway, Math. de Deresbury, Rob. Harald, Ric. Apotecar', Ade Godeweyt, Will. Pinsun, Will. Bunce, Rob. de Molend', Rob'to Ese, et multis alijs.

* An inquisition of 1321, states that the keeper of this gate was bound to find locks and keys for the Bridge-street, and the neighbouring postern, called Ship-gate, and a man to watch and open and shut the said gate.

(A round seal of green wax, bearing six ears of grain meeting in cross, with the circumscription of—S. RIC. BAGOT.)

In the reign of Edward the Third, the custody of this gate, with the serjeancy of Bridge-street, and the custody of the garden of the castle at Chester, belonged to the Raby family, from whom they passed by co-heiresses to the Norris's, of Speke, in Lancashire, and the Troutbeck's; the moiety, which belonged to the Norris family, was purchased by the corporation of Sir William Norris in 1624; the other moiety was purchased of the Earl of Shrewsbury, as representative of the Troutbecks in 1689, when a suite of rooms (still vested in the Shrewsbury family) was reserved to the use of the earl and his heirs, in a house near the bridge, lately belonging to Sir John Cotgreave, and now occupied by Mr. Moss. In an inquisition (20 Jac. I.) Sir William Troutbeck is said to have held the serjeancy of the Bridge-gate, and the custody of the castle-garden, by reason of his possessing the manors of Little Newton and Hargrave, but it does not appear that the tenures were connected at an early period, or that the Rabys, from whom Sir William Troutbeck claimed, ever possessed those manors. Philip de Raby, in the reign of Edward III. together with the custody of the Bridge-gate, had that of the earl's garden at the castle, for which service he was entitled to the fruit of a certain tree, called a "*Restyng-tree*," and to the fruit of the other trees in the garden, after the first shaking; and he was to furnish the earl's household from the said garden with colewort from Michaelmas to Lent, and with leeks during Lent.

Near to this gate southward, stands the old bridge, leading to the ancient suburb of Handbridge, consisting of seven irregular arches, the passage over which, until the year 1836, was both inconvenient and dangerous from its narrowness. In that year, however, the carriage road was widened several feet on the west side, and on the east a raised foot-path was placed, four feet wide, bounded

towards the river by a good iron railing, the projection supported by two courses of corbels. This has proved an essential improvement to the bridge, and was executed in good style by Mr. Kelly, mason, of Chester. The precise period of the origin of the bridge is very obscure, but that here was the ancient passage is a fact supported by the concurrent testimony of all our old writers. It is not less certain, that the original mode of transit across the river was by a ferry; though we have the clearest evidence that a bridge of *some kind* was in existence before the conquest; in proof of which the reader is directed to the transcript from *Doomsday* (page 127), which refers to the time of Edward the Confessor, and in which it is stated, "for the purpose of rebuilding the wall, and the bridge of the city, the prepositus commanded one man to come from each hide of the county." Grose, in his *Antiquities*, says, he "received a manuscript, which gives an account of the bridge at Chester over the Dee being finished by Edward the older, which was begun by Ethelfleda his sister, before which time there was a ferry for passengers, under St. Mary's-hill, at the Ship-gate." It is also recorded in the "Notitia" of Bishop Gastrell, by extracts from "the Chronicle of the Abbey," that in 1227, "*Pons Cestriae totus cecidit*;" and again, in the same place it is stated, "1279, *Mare erupit, pontem Cestriae confregit et asportavit*." It is very probable, that shortly after this date, it was built of stone, on its present site. The south side of it is recorded to have been *rebuilt* in 1550.

Beneath the arch next to the city, is a current, which, by means of a great dam or causeway that crosses the river obliquely, supplies the city mills with water. These mills and the causeway were originally founded by Hugh Lupus, and retained by his successors, and afterwards by the earls of Chester of the royal line. This very extensive property belongs to E. O. Wrench, Esq. comprises twenty-two pair of stones, and is let chiefly for the purpose of grinding flour, to several different tenants. The Dee mills have been twice destroyed by fire within

the last forty years. The first conflagration broke out about twelve o'clock on Saturday night, 26th September, 1789; the second, about the same hour, the same night in the week, March 6, 1819; on which latter occasion, the progress of the flames was so rapid, that the whole of the premises, with the exception of part of the outward wall, were destroyed in the short space of six hours, and it was only by dint of the greatest exertions, that the devouring element was checked in its approach to the line of warehouses in Skinner-street. The loss sustained was upwards of 40,000*l*. These mills in early times, produced a considerable revenue; they were in existence in 1119, and some of them were rebuilt by John Scot, earl of Chester, who died in 1237. In the year 1284, they were leased by King Edward I. for twelve years, at the high rent of 200*l*. per annum,* to Richard the Engineer.† The Black Prince granted them for life to Sir Howell y Fwyall, in reward for his bravery at the battle of Poitiers, where he took the French king prisoner. King Edward VI. granted the Dee mills with the fishery at Chester in exchange for estates in Lincolnshire, to Sir Richard Cotton, of whose family they were purchased in 1587, subject to a reserved rent of 100*l*. per annum, by Thomas Gamul, Esq. father of Sir Francis Gamul, Bart. In 1646 it was ordered by parliament that

* In those early times this sum was equal to upwards of £6,000. per annum, of our present money. This high rent probably arose from the obligation every inhabitant of the city then lay under to grind at these mills, excepting the tenants of the abbot and monks of St. Werburgh, and in after-times, those of the dean and chapter inhabiting without the Northgate, who had a mill of their own, in a void place between the upper part of the Gorst-stacks and Bachepool. There is no vestige of this mill now remaining; but there is a road leading from the former place, still well known by the name of Windmill-lane. Ray, in his proverbial phrases, has the following:—"If thou hadst the rent of the Dee Mills, thou wouldst spend it;"—equivalent to our common address to a spendthrift, "thou wouldst go through a mint of money."

† *Ingeniatori Nostro*. Writ of Inquiry to ascertain the damages done to the mills by inundations, which damages were to be allowed out of the rent. Richard L'Engenour, alias Ingeniator, probably the lessee of the mills, was mayor of Chester in 1304.

the Dee mills (erroneously described as having been then lately held under the crown by Francis Gamul, a delinquent), and the causey, being a great annoyance and obstruction to the trade of the city, should be taken down and destroyed within four months;* that within a year new water courses should be made for other mills to be erected upon the Rood-eye, or some other lands belonging to the corporation, employing the materials of the old mills and the causey; the profits of the new mills, over and above the fee-farm rent and other outgoings, to be for the use and benefit of the city. This order appears never to have been carried into execution. In 1652, it was again in contemplation to pull down the Dee mills, and to destroy the dam across the river, for the purpose of making a harbour.† The Dee mills were inherited by Sir Francis Gamul's five co-heiresses, the husband of one of whom having purchased two of the other shares, three-fifths passed by inheritance to the Shaws of Eltham, in Kent, of whom they were purchased in 1742, by Mr. Edward Wrench, great uncle of the present owner, who is now possessed of the whole of this valuable property; another share of which was purchased of the representatives of Sydney Gamul in 1753, by the same gentleman, and the remaining share, which had undergone several alienations, by the late E. O. Wrench, Esq. father of the present proprietor, in 1808. The reserved rent was purchased of the assignees of the Cotton family in 1776.‡

* Some such measure as this (at least as far as relates to the causey) had been in contemplation in 1608, and was then resisted by the Gamul family: the matter was referred to the privy council, and by them to the judges, who decreed that the causey should remain.

† See several proceedings in parliament, March, 1652.

‡ In some pleadings, preserved in the Harl. MSS. (2084) relative to the causeway, it is said, that "The river of Dee was drawne into the said cittle with great charge by the earle (Lupus), or some of his predecessors, before the conqueste, from the ancient course which it held before, a mile or two distant from the cittle, and a passage for it cutt out of a rock under the walls of the said cittle." From whence this story is derived I find not, but in point of fact, it bears every feature of improbability. I have already produced indubitable evidence, that the river occupied its present channel in the

The early origin and history of these mills are given as follow, in some pleadings respecting the causeway, or weir, in the Harl. MSS. 2084. "The said earl (Hugh Lupus) built the corn-mills of Chester, and erected the causey, and granted three score fisheries above the weir, to several of his dependants; commonly called stalls in Dee, reserving to himself the earl's poofes, next to the causey, and granted to the abbot the tithes of the said mills and fishings, which the dean and chapter have since enjoyed. Henry the third resuming the earldom, the mills were retained in the crown to 6 Edw. VI. A steward of the mills had vjd. per day; the chamberlain of Chester kept the accounts, and the justice of Chester held courts yearly for their better regulation."

This provision for the well government of the establishment reflects credit upon our early monarchs, and exhibits a laudable care to prevent the exercise of frauds or oppressions on the part of the servants of the crown, whether against one another, or the public. In illustration of the practice of holding these courts, I subjoin the following writ, directed to the mayor and sheriffs, to summon a jury to appear in *the court of the mills of the Dee*, before the justice of Chester there; the return of the mayor and sheriffs to that writ; and an indictment preferred at the same court, against a miller for an assault. This procedure occurred in the year 1414, and the document, never before published, is extracted from the rolls in the prothonotary's office, at the castle of Chester.

"Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, To the Mayor and Sheriffs of our city of Chester, Greeting, We command you that you cause to come before our Justices of Chester, at Chester, within our mills of Dee there, on Thursday in

time of Edward the Confessor, and consequently before the period of the Norman earldom. There are no traces of excavations as the river approaches the city in its present course; while the level of the ground on both sides the Dee, rises many yards above its bed. And besides all this, we know that not only the Roman colonists, but even our aborigines uniformly chose the immediate vicinity of a river for the site of their cities and towns.

the Feast of St. Valentine the martyr next coming, 24 good and lawful men, as well of the citizens of the city of Chester, as of the millers and servants in the mills, residing and living, and also Robert del Castell, clerk of the same mills, or the holder of his place and deputy in the same office, to hear and do those things, which on our part by our aforesaid justice shall be then and there set forth and enjoined them. We therefore command you, that in the place in your bailiwick, in which it shall seem to you best, you cause to be proclaimed, &c. &c. [Teste obliterated.]

(INDORSED.)

“John de Whitemore, mayor, and John de Hope, and John de Orton, sheriffs of the city of Chester, to this writ thus answer.—

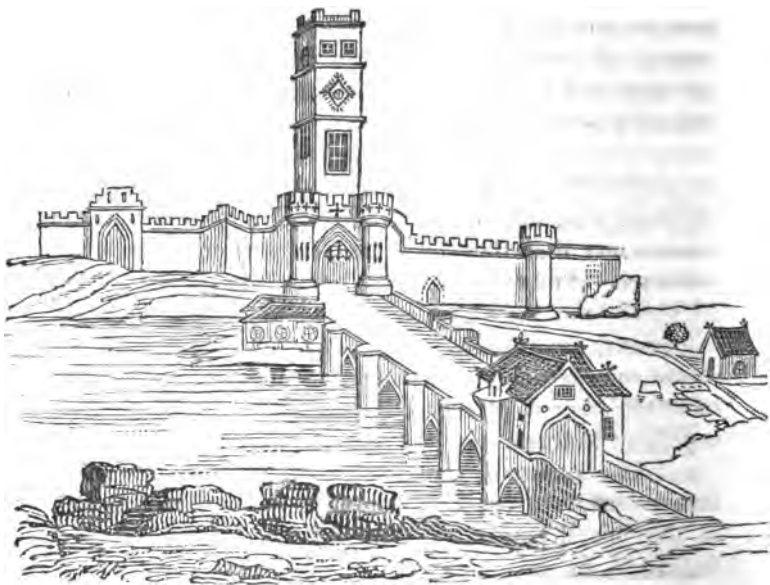
“We have caused to come before the Justices of the Lord the King and Earl of Chester, at the day and place within named, 24 good and lawful men, as well of the citizens of our bailiwick as of the millers and servants in the aforesaid mills, and also Robert del Hope, deputy of Robert Castell, within named, to do those things which this writ requires. In like manner we have caused to be proclaimed the court of the mills of the Dee, and that all those who are bound to do suit or appearance at the same court that they be there ready to do suit and appearance. And we have also caused to be proclaimed that all those who have any suits or complaints concerning any extortions, grievances, oppressions, and trespasses whatsoever, perpetrated within the aforesaid mills, that they be at the day and place in the writ named, if it shall seem expedient to them.

“The names of the panell appear in a certain schedule to this writ served, whereof the issues of each as well in the panell named, as of the deputy of the said Robert de Castell, 6s. 8d.

“Millers of the Dee,—The jurors say upon their oath, that John Silcok, of Chester, walker of the county of Chester, on Sunday next, after the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, in the 2nd year of the reign of King Henry

the 5th, after the conquest, at Chester, in the mills aforesaid, there made an assault upon Roger Holland, walker of the aforesaid city of the county aforesaid, with a certain small knife, and struck him, so that blood flowed, with force and arms, and against the peace of the Lord the King, and that the said Roger on and at the aforesaid day, place and year, made an assault upon the aforesaid John," &c. &c. &c.

At the south end of the bridge formerly stood a gate-house, with an arch in the centre. The annexed view from Handbridge is a fac-simile of a drawing by the third Randal Holme, representing the bridge, with its two gates, the mills and Tyrer's tower for the elevation of the water, as they appeared about the middle of the seventeenth century. The gate at the Handbridge end was taken down about the time of erecting the new Bridge-gate.



Without forestalling our future description of Handbridge, it may be noticed, that on the opposite side of the river, above the bridge, and near to the south end of the causeway, there stand some extensive buildings, occupied

by Messrs. Moulson and Cropper, as snuff mills, by Mr. Topham, as skimmers' work-shops, some dwellings, and also the salmon cage. Some years ago, all this property belonged to the owner of the Dee Mills, of whom, a few years ago, it was purchased for 4,000*l.* by the late Mr. Topham, whose son now possesses it. The salmon cage was formerly rented at 120*l.* but is at present held by Mr. Thomas Edwards, at 60*l.* or sixty guineas, per annum, a circumstance which induces an apprehension, that the production of the salmon of the Dee, which is famed for its exquisite flavour throughout the kingdom, is on the decline, a circumstance deeply to be deplored, and which it would be gratifying to see remedied. At a few paces in advance from the Bridge-gate, the prospect up the river presents some of the most delightful scenery imaginable. Nothing can exceed its beauty on a calm summer's evening, where a long and uninterrupted portion of the unruffled surface of the Dee may be seen nearly up to Boughton, frequently studded with beautiful pleasure-boats and barges, filled with genteel company, enjoying the exquisite delights of an aquatic excursion.*

* The healthful and pleasant exercise of rowing on the Dee has of late years been greatly promoted by a number of young men of the city, who have formed themselves into a yacht society; and by the annual rowing matches usually occurring on the king's birth-day, for which competition some considerable prizes are raised by voluntary subscriptions. Pleasure-boats may at any time be hired in the Groves, at very moderate charges, with or without men to attend them. The beautiful village of Eccleston, where there is an excellent inn for entertainment, something more than two miles up the river, and the still more attractive and splendid mansion of Earl Grosvenor at Eaton, about a mile further, may be approached in this direction, to both which places there are generally numerous diurnal visitors. The intermediate objects presented to view in this sail are of the most imposing description, as beheld from the river, the first of which are the fronts of the elegant mansions of the venerable Archdeacon Wrangham, and William Ward, Esq. standing on a commanding eminence, from whence rich and luxuriant garden grounds slope with a gentle declivity till bounded by a wall, between which and the water edge, there is a pleasant walk, skirted on the river side by a fine row of trees. From this spot also the majestic tower of the church of St. John is seen to great advantage, with several adjacent buildings. A little higher up, there is a road leading to St. John's church-yard, by a long flight of steps, at the foot of which is the residence of our city recorder, R. Tyrwhitt, Esq. built early in the last century, and long occupied by his

Proceeding from the Bridge-gate eastwards, a short distance on the right are a flight of steps from the walls leading to the water side and the Groves, which were erected by the corporation at the beginning of the last

predécessor in office, Roger Comberbach, Esq. and indistinctly seen through a line of trees, which is still continued by the Dee margin, till interrupted by a garden wall carried down to the river, which intersects the further progress of this pleasant promenade, leaving only a narrow inconvenient passage at the upper end of it, called the Black Walk. Propelling your little skiff onward for a short space, you glide along a piece of ground, well known to every truant school-boy in the city, by the cognomen of *Billy Hobby's Field*, in which there is a good spring of water, much resorted to, on account of its excellent qualities in the concoction of Bohea and Hyson; and after advancing further for about one hundred yards towards Boughton, the fine plantation, gardens, and elegant mansion of Robert Baxter, Esq. present themselves to view, the former tastefully laid out, and the latter, standing on the brow of an elevated ridge, is viewed to great advantage through an interval of thickly planted trees with which the building is flanked. A curious historical fact referable to this spot will call for some particular notice, when my description leads me from the city towards Boughton, for which reason the present brief remark must suffice; only observing, that the interesting view is continued, as the voyager proceeds towards Boughton ford, in which interval, from the river side to the turnpike-road, are several rich and well-cultivated gardens, presenting their sloping bosom to the southern sun, in all the bloom and beauty of luxuriance. At the summit of this rise, are also seen the elegant ranges of buildings on both sides the London road, lately erected, and first commenced by Mr. Alderman Morris; the new church at Boughton, Richmond Terrace, the beautiful residence of John Lloyd, Esq. with numerous other interesting objects; while nearer to the water edge, stand the works of the new water company, Barrel-well brewery, and the residence of Mr. John Walker. The other side of the Dee is all along skirted by fine level meadows, which at the ford allow a delightful prospect of the mansions of Sir John Cotgreave, Mr. R. Roberts, and Mr. Alderman Rogers, in Eccleston-lane, and also of the neat church and rural village of Eccleston. In approaching the latter, on the same side of the river, and near to it, is a good stone building, known as early as the thirteenth century, as well as at present, by the name of the *Iron Bridge*. This spot was a few years ago occupied as a tavern and tea gardens, and was a place of great resort for our pleasure-loving Cestrians. The old house has been taken down, and the present one built on its site, which is occupied by Mrs. Lyons, relict of the Rev. Mr. Lyons, formerly officiating minister of the Unitarian chapel, at Chester.—To those who are at all acquainted with the exquisite scenery furnished by this sail up the windings of the wizard Dee, the description will not be thought tedious, or its beauties too highly coloured. I have seen an engraved view of the south-east part of the city, published about the middle of the last century, which shews a road along the Dee side from the Groves up to Boughton, and which probably was then continued some distance beyond that hamlet. The selfishness of land-owners, however, assisted by the

century, in compliment to, and for the convenience of the family of Roger Comberbach, Esq. who was then recorder of the city, and whose residence was the house now occupied by Mr. Recorder Tyrwhitt. Within a few paces onward, the wall forms an angle to the northward, where we ascend a flight of several steps, well recognized by the name of the *Wishing-steps*, placed there in 1785, at the top of which stood an ancient watch-tower, which had formerly an apartment with a stone seat on one side, and windows commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country. This tower was taken down in 1826, as affording a lounging receptacle for disorderly vagrants; and being reduced in height to a level with the parapet wall, was covered over with sloping-flags; thus furnishing a temptation to adventurous children to play their gambols upon, and risque their lives, although this danger might be averted at a trifling expence, by the erection of an iron railing.* On the right is a spacious and well-stocked orchard, across which there is also a favourable view of St. John's church, and in the intermediate space, of a lofty house for many years occupied by the late Mr. Orred, surgeon, at present the property and residence of Sir John Salusbury. From the *Wishing-steps*, the walls take a northern direction, but nothing of interest occurs, except what has been stated, for several hundred yards, the immediate vicinity on the left being crowded with buildings neither worthy of remark for their elegance or antiquity. Immediately before passing over a good arch, called the New-gate, however, the tourist may amuse himself with a complete, and if he pleases, a

capriciousness of the stream, have completely obliterated all traces of this sequestered line of communication; garden walls and inclosures now intersecting the passage to the river side where the banks have preserved their level; while the force of the water has washed the soil away to the foot of the rising ridge skirting the Dee, from the commencement of Mr. Baxter's ground to Barrel-wall.

* A few years ago, a child in endeavouring to mount this spot, was precipitated into the orchard beneath, but was but little injured, though the depth outside the walls in this part is not less than twenty yards.

philosophic view of a good brick building, used annually during our races for that *mental* and *intellectual* amusement, *cock-fighting*. This place of *fashionable* resort was erected in 1825, and I take it for granted, that the sale of tickets at five shillings each day for admission to the *sport*, during the race week, sufficiently remunerates the speculators for the outlay, on the building. The old cock-pit, on the site of which the present one stands, was of a circular form, and covered with a huge quantity of thatch.*

The arch just mentioned, denominated the *New-gate*, over which the walls pass at this point, opens a communication from Pepper-street, Newgate-street, &c. to John-street, John's church, and Dee-lane, and is sufficiently capacious to admit the passage of a loaded waggon. It was anciently called *Wolfseld-gate*, or *Wolf's-gate*, and obtained its name from a *wolf's head*, the badge of Hugh Lupus, being cut in stone over its entrance. In 1603, the passage was enlarged for carts by the inhabitants of St. John's-lane; and in 1608, these repairs and alterations being thought insufficient, the gate was entirely rebuilt, and has since sustained its present name of the *New-gate*. In describing this gate, our antiquary Webb says, that "*Wolf-gate* sometime had a hollow grate, with a bridge for horse and man, and it butteth upon *Souter's Load* and St. John's-street. And this gate was, in times past, closed up and shut, because a young man stole away a Maior of Chester's daughter, through the same gate as she was playing at ball with other maids, in the summer time, in *Peppur-street*." It would seem likewise, that the *New-gate* was sometimes called *Pepper-gate*; for Fuller, in support of the above old tradition, remarks, "That the Mayor of the city had his daughter, as she was playing at ball with other maidens in Pepper-street, stolen away by a young man through the same gate, whereupon he

* The author has been informed of this curious coincidence, that in the erection of this seminary of religion and morals, a *Quaker*, *Baptist*, and *Methodist*, were employed in the departments of bricklayer, carpenter, and plaisterer.

caused it to be shut up, from which circumstance arose the saying, 'when the daughter is stolen, shut Pepper-gate,'—equivalent to our north country adage, 'when the steed is stolen, lock the stable door.'

A short way further to the eastward, are some scanty remains of another watch-tower, abutting from the walls, formerly known by the name of *Thimbleby's Tower*; and near to this on the right, is a new flight of steps, secured on the walls by an iron gate, leading to the Wesleyan Methodist chapel, for a convenient access to which from this quarter, permission was granted by the corporation for its erection. The whole back front of this place of worship, which is very spacious, is seen from the walls, as also an adjoining building on the south wing, occupied as a Sunday-school belonging to that establishment. From hence to the termination of our circuit is but about forty or fifty paces, all of the most uninteresting description, closely crowded with buildings on both sides, and furnishing not a single object worthy of notice. Directly before we ascend the steps leading to the East-gate, on the left is also a flight which conducts the tourist into Eastgate-street, and on the opposite end of the gate on the right, a similar convenience will direct him into Foregate-street.

In perusing the foregoing sketch of our walls, with the incidental notices of contiguous objects, it is presumed that individuals most conversant with the localities of the city, will meet with several particulars, either to gratify their curiosity, or add to their information. And it may also be hoped, that should the account be read by those who are strangers to our ancient fortifications, and the peculiar attractions of Chester, it may excite a commendable inquisitiveness for a personal survey, at the same time that it may assist as a directory to his enquiries. In whatever point of view these old ramparts are considered, they possess an imposing interest, and confer incalculable benefits. To the invalid, the sedentary student, or the man of business, occupied during the day in his shop

or counting-house, to the habitually indolent, who require excitement to necessary exercise—to all these, the promenade on Chester walls have most inviting attractions, where they may breathe all the salubrious winds of heaven in a morning or evening walk. Here the enthusiastic antiquarian, who would climb mountains, ford rivers, explore the bowels of the earth, and, regardless of toil and the claims of nature, exhaust his strength in search of a piece of rusty cankered brass, or a scrap of Roman earthenware, can scarcely advance a dozen paces, but the pavement on which he treads, or some contiguous object, force upon his observation the reliques of the earliest times. Nor can the philosophic moralist encompass our venerable walls without having his mind, comparing the splendid and gigantic works of antiquity with their present condition, strongly impressed with the mutations produced by the lapse of ages, and the perishable nature of all human greatness.

I shall conclude this branch of my history by citing the sentiments of a man well known in the republic of letters, regarding our ancient city, not indeed particularly as to her walls, but as to her general attractions. His information as a traveller was varied and extensive, and his discernment and intelligence were confessedly strong and acute. This gentleman, who was no other than Mr. Boswell, in a letter to Dr. Johnson, dated October 22, 1779, says, "Chester pleases me more than any town I ever saw. I told a very pleasing young lady, niece to one of the prebendaries, (Miss Letitia Barnston) at whose house I saw her, 'I have come to Chester, madam, I cannot tell how; and far less can I tell how to get away from it.'" Dr. Johnson, in his reply says, 'In the place where you now are there is much to be observed, and you will easily procure yourself skilful directors.' In another letter, dated Nov. 7, in the same year, Boswell remarks, "I was quite enchanted at Chester, so that I could with difficulty quit it."

The Rows.

IN the commencement of the last article it was remarked, that Chester had two peculiar characteristics, as distinct from every other city or town in England, namely, its complete circuit of walls, and its Rows or GALLERIES.* A description of the former has already been attempted, and my prescribed duty now leads me to some observations on the latter. As a stranger to the place, none of the descriptions I have seen in print would give me a distinct comprehension of these rows, nor am I sanguine in the hope that my own delineation will be more successful with regard to others so circumstanced. The Rows occupy a considerable portion of the four principal streets within the walls, nearest the Cross, but in no instance do they reach to any of the gates. Those connected with the Eastgate-street run from the Cross to Werburgh's-street on the north side, and on the south to Newgate-street; those of Watergate-street commence on the south side at the same centre, and terminate at the end of Weaver-street, and on the north side, close at about half the distance. In Northgate-street, there is only one row on the west side, that may be properly termed a thoroughfare, which is denominated *Shoemaker's Row*, and which has its commencement at the Commercial Buildings, and its termination in an open area occupied as the Fish Shambles; on the east side, there is but the remnant of one of these ancient galleries, which

* It would appear, however, that in early times, some of our towns had at least partial appendages of this kind. Leland observes of Bridgenorth, (Itin. 40. fol. 80.) "There is one very fayre street going from north to south, and on each side this street the houses be gallered, soe than men may passe dry by them if it raine, according to some streets in Chester cittye."

is ascended by some inconvenient steps from Pepper-alley, and closes in about forty or fifty paces by a descent equally incommodious, and which has appropriately enough acquired the name of *Broken Shin Row*. The Rows in Bridge-street extend, on the east side from the corner of Eastgate Row to St. Michael's church, being, however, intersected towards the bottom, by a carriage road leading to the stabling behind the Feathers Hotel, crossed by descending and ascending flights of steps ; on the west, the row is also connected with that at the top of Watergate-street, and is continued, with the interruption of two cross lanes, to within a short distance of Whitefriars, into which, from its extremity, there is a thoroughfare, by a passage known by the name of Bolland's-court. The level of the walking path in the rows, may be reckoned generally at about twelve feet above that of the streets, though in some parts not so much. It should also be observed, that besides the flights of steps by which they are entered and quitted at each end, there are other similar conveniences placed at suitable distances at the side-path, which lead to and from the streets.

On passing the main streets, parallel with which these rows run, a stranger would scarcely be aware of the existence of the latter. He will perceive on each hand a line of shops, as in other towns, and take them to be the only ones in the same front. On looking upward, however, he will perceive a wooden or iron balustrade running along the top of these shops, with upright pillars standing at intervals of five or six yards, supporting the superincumbent buildings, which range in a direct line downwards with the shops in the street. Now the space thus created, by cutting off the communication between the summit of the lower shops, and the higher part of the building above, and which may be taken to be from ten to twelve feet in height, forms the front or opening of the row ; backward, within this front, stands another line of shops, the interval in width, occupied as a foot-path, or for other purposes, being from four to five yards. Thus the passengers in the Rows walk over the shops in the

street, and under the first floor of the dwelling-houses; and thus two lines of shops are created in one front.

The Rows are generally well flagged, and kept in good repair, and are much frequented both by the citizens and strangers, to whom they will ever prove an object of curiosity. In hot weather, a continued stream of cold air passes along the rows from the numerous entries or avenues which branch from them; and in wet weather they afford ample protection from the "pitiless storm." Very considerable improvements in these have occurred within the last thirty years, and are daily taking place, for whenever ruin or decay renders a re-erection necessary, the spirit of the times, if not the potent influence of the police commissioners, imposes a more modern and elegant form of construction. Formerly, in front of the row, was fixed a clumsy wooden railing, with immense pillars of oak, supporting transverse beams, upon which the houses, chiefly built of wood, rested, and which leaned forward over the street in a terrific attitude. These old erections, to the no small mortification of the admirers of antiquity, are fast decreasing in most parts of the city, though several of them yet remain, particularly in Watergate-street.

The shops in the rows are generally considered the best situations for retail shopkeepers, but those on the southern side of Eastgate-street, and the eastern side of Bridge-street, have a decided preference. Shops let here at very high rents, and are in never-failing request; and perhaps there is no parts of the city which have undergone equally rapid or extensive improvements. A person who traversed these rows thirty years ago, would hardly recognize them by their present appearance. It will be perfectly within the recollection of many of my readers, when most of the shops in both these rows were of paltry mean appearance, and the houses connected with them nodding over their base; but in which, nevertheless, we had many substantial tradesmen, several of whom I could enumerate, who, by dint of sober industry and perseverance, realized fortunes, and arrived at the pinnacle of

civic honours. There was one feature in the shops, which will illustrate this description, and which is worthy of notice. But little more than forty years ago, there was hardly a shop in any of the rows which could boast a glass window. The fronts were all open to the row, in two or three compartments, according to their size, and at nights were closed by huge hanging shutters, fixed on hinges, and fastened in the day-time by hooks to the ceiling of the row. The external appearance of the shops, except as far as regarded the commodity for sale, was little different to that of butchers' standings. The first tradesman who broke in upon this *innovation*, is said to have been a Mr. Drake, mercer, who occupied a shop in Bridge-street Row; afterwards in possession of Mr. William Dawson, in the same line of business; and I have been assured by those who well remember the circumstance, that Mr. Drake was severely censured by his neighbours, for introducing this unnecessary system of adornment and expence.

At present the shops, and many of the dwelling-houses in these rows, are equal in elegance to those of Manchester or Liverpool; and there is at least one in Eastgate-street Row, that of Messrs. William and Henry Brown, silk mercers and milliners, lately built, which, whether considered in reference to its splendour, or the richness of its wares, would not suffer by a comparison with the magnificence of Regent-street.* In a word, these two rows are capable of supplying all the real demands of convenience, and the artificial calls of luxury, mental and corporeal; presenting a cluster of drapers, clothiers, jewellers, perfumers, booksellers, &c. as respectable as the kingdom can produce.

* Among the recent improvements in Eastgate-street, it would be unpardonable to omit the fine brick building lately erected on the north side, by Mr. A. Booth, furrier and hatter, the site of which was before occupied by a ruinous pile of old buildings, extending from the front of the street backward nearly to the farther end of what is termed the London Baker's Yard. The front below is divided into two good shops, the one occupied by Mr. Booth himself, and the other by Mr. Parry, bookseller. The houses above are the residences of these individuals, and the whole tastefully executed by Mr. Wright, of the walls, presents a most imposing appearance.

To trace the origin and cause of these rows, with any degree of certainty, is no easy task, concerning which a variety of conjectures have been formed. Some have attributed their origin to the period when Chester was liable to frequent attacks from the Welsh, which induced the inhabitants to build their houses in this form, so that when the enemy should at any time have forced an entrance, they might avoid the danger of the horsemen, and annoy their assailants as they passed through the streets. This opinion seems to have been adopted by Webb, and followed by most other writers on the subject. He says, "And because their conflicts with enemies continued long time, it was needful for them to leave a space before the doors of these their upper buildings, upon which they might stand in safety from the violence of their enemies' horses, and withall defend their houses from spoyl, and stand with advantage to encounter their enemies when they made incursions."

I am aware that this has long been, and still is, the popular sentiment; but I think there is very good reason to question its correctness. There is irrefragible evidence, that the *form* of our city is Roman, and that our *walls* were the work of that people; and the same reasons which justify these conclusions are not less cogent for presuming that the construction of our streets are Roman also. Pennant appears to have been governed by this view: he says, "These rows appear to me to have been the same with the ancient *vestibules*; and to have been a form of building preserved from the time that the city was possessed by the Romans. They were built before the doors, midway between the streets and the houses; and were the places where dependents waited for the coming out of their patrons, and under which they might walk away the tedious minutes of expectation. *Plautus*, in the third act of his *Mostella*, describes both their station and use:—

'Viden' vestibulum ante ædes, et ambulacrum ejusmodi?'

The shops beneath the rows were the *cryptæ* and *apothecæ*, magazines for the various necessities of the owners of the houses."

The learned Stukeley countenances this hypothesis, in his *Itinerary*, 1724, in which, noticing Chester, he remarks, "The rows, or piazzas, are singular through the whole town, giving shelter to foot-people. *I fancied it a remain of the Roman porticoes.*" The authors of the *Magna Britannia* dissent from the two last respectable authorities, but their objections would have been more satisfactory, if they had adduced some reasons, or suggested a more probable theory. "Mr. Pennant thinks" (say the Lysons), "that he discerns in these rows the form of the ancient vestibules attached to the houses of the Romans who once possessed this city; many vestiges of their edifices have certainly been discovered at Chester; but there seems to be little resemblance between the Chester rows and the vestibules of the Romans, whose houses were constructed only of one story."

In the oldest histories extant, descriptive of the city, in some form or other, the elevated rows and the shops beneath are recognized; nor have we the slightest intimation of any period in which these rows were constructed, or when the level of the streets were sunk so much below the surface of the walking-paths in the rows, and the ground behind them. Amid the uncertain conjectures that have been hazarded on this subject, there can be no presumption in giving an opinion, that their construction is of *Roman* origin—a position which may be maintained on several grounds of probability.

It hardly requires a word by way of argument to shew, that the pavement in Bridge-street, Watergate-street, and Eastgate-street, were originally on a level with the ground-floor of the houses standing in the rows; for it is utterly impossible to conceive, that the present sunken state of the streets, as contrasted with the elevated ground on each side, could be the effect of natural causes. It is most obvious, therefore, that at some period or other, the principal streets have been made to take their present form by dint of human art and labour, and it is not less evident, that from the east, west, and south gates to the cross, and from the latter to nearly where the exchange

now stands, which is almost the highest part of the city, excavation has been employed. These conclusions, which, although incapable of proof from any existing testimony, seem necessarily to arise from a close observation of the subject, and I believe they have received the concurrence of all our historians and antiquaries. But some difference of opinion has existed as to the fact, whether these excavations were made *prior* to the erection of the buildings above, or *subsequent* to them. This question, although involving no important point of history, is worthy of a slight notice, if it were for no other use than a curious speculation. *Webb*, in King's Vale Royal, fixes the origin of our rows at a much later period than that which I am of opinion they are entitled to, and he likewise leans to the hypothesis, that they were a kind of after-work, begun and completed when the buildings in the sunken line of the streets were already inhabited. The passage referred to is as follows:—

“It is not only apparent by the writing of the most ancient, concerning the cities’ beginning, but also by the very workmanship of those parts of it, which are of greatest antiquity, that at the first they (the first inhabitants) partly wone them habitations out of the very hard rock, and partly by their own industrious building artificially with stone, they made their chiefest abodes rather under, than even, with the upper face of the earth; a proof whereof, I gather from daily reports, which, even at this day, many of the citizens give from that which they experimentally find, that have occasion to dig either in their houses, gardens, back-sides, orchards, or in the streets of the city, meeting with great and huge foundations of stone; and those, for the most part, artificially hewen and fastned together. Now we may well think, that as they grew in strength and force able to defend themselves, and in time, no doubt, enlarged themselves, both for more safe, and more pleasant beings; *then set they new additions upon the former foundations*, which might be more comfortable, and of convenienter use, for strength, for health, and for delight.” * * * * *

"That this is no naked assertion of my own, I confirm it by that which Mr. Rogers, out of his reading, hath collected in these words :—'This city, which in time of wars in this kingdome, was a place of great refuge and service far before Wales was subdued; Chester was of no small service to keep them under. And, in those times, many of the inhabitants of this city did build rowes and walks before their houses, that thereby, when the enemy entred, they might avoid the danger of the horse-men, and might annoy the enemies, as they passed through the streets.' "

From the above quotations, it is apparent, that Webb, as well as the respectable authority of Archdeacon Rogers, favour the notion, that the rows were constructed *after* the level of the streets was formed. There is no historical data, however, adduced by either, in support of their position; and as their conclusions rest only upon their own reasonings and conjectures, it may be allowable for others to differ from them, without incurring the imputation of presumption. This theory, in the absence of all proof, proceeds upon an extreme improbability; for whether the original founders of the city were *British* or *Roman*, it is most incongruous to suppose, that in order to find a base for erecting their habitations, they would undertake the Herculean task of cutting through a rock the whole length of the four streets, and to a depth of from sixteen to twenty feet, without any assignable object, while the whole unobstructed surface lay open to their purpose. Nor does the circumstance mentioned by Webb, of meeting with "great and huge foundations of stone," at all aid the presumption, as that fact, if it be one, might exist, if the upper tier of building had been anterior to the lower.

Notwithstanding the authority of *Ramolph the Monk*, and *Henry Bradshaw*, that the city was founded by a *British* giant, our sober historians, among whom is the respectable *Pennant*, decline claiming for it the honour of so early an origin; and in truth, there is no shadow of evidence, either within or without our precincts, by

which to trace the existence of the place beyond the Roman times. If we refer the foundation to that period, we have a tangible and reasonable solution for the many stupendous works of labour and art which abound here, among which may be reckoned, on indisputable authority, our noble ramparts. Nor am I aware of the existence of any historic data, that can disprove an opinion which I strongly entertain, that the excavations already mentioned, by which our rows, as distinguished from the carriage road, are formed, are the work of Roman hands. This hypothesis, at least, is capable of being supported on several reasonable grounds.

It has already been assumed, as an undeniable fact, that the streets and rows were originally on a level; and if there be not equal certainty, there is good reason to believe, that the first dwellings of the Romans occupied precisely the same site as the houses and shops in the rows now do, with the ballustrades or openings in front of them. This is exactly in accordance with the passage quoted from Pennant, "that the latter appear to be the same with the ancient Roman *vestibules*;" or as Stukeley calls them, "a remain of the Roman *porticoes*." It may easily be conceived, that thus circumstanced, from the Bridge-gate, the Water-gate, and the Eastgate-gate, and especially in regard to the two former, the acclivity to the centre of the city would be considerably greater than at present, and indeed these ascents are even now somewhat difficult to loaded carriages. Now although these natural obstacles existed, yet on first determining the site of the city, they might not appear sufficiently formidable, to induce the new settlers to alter their situation, especially as the spot held out many peculiar advantages. But after vesting the city with the dignity of a colony, making it the station of a celebrated legion, and attaching to it great importance; when, in the centre of the city the Roman *prætorium* was fixed, with all its attractions, it is probable they would begin to look about them for more convenient accommodations, by the removal of the natural obstructions that led to that famous place of resort.

It should be remembered, that this city was the station of the famous twentieth legion for the space of near four centuries; and that its number with its auxiliaries, was probably not less than ten thousand men. The long period, therefore, they were stationed here; and the multitude of their disposable hands, added to the known policy of the Romans to keep them in active employment, afforded the best possible opportunity for securing all the advantages of which their knowledge of the arts, and their manual labour, were capable of producing. Thus we have the express attestation of Richard of Cirencester, *that Chester was constructed by the soldiers of the twentieth.* It is probable, that protection and defence would be the first objects of the colonists, and it is therefore natural to infer, that the erection of the walls would occupy their earliest efforts. Commodiousness and convenience would next engage their attention; and what would be more likely to present itself to the discernment of the Romans, than the desirableness of an easy access to their great court of judicature; their camp, to the *augurate*, where prayers and sacrifices were performed, and to the residences of their commanders, and other distinguished personages. The original level of the carriage-road at the junction of Watergate and Bridge-streets, may be seen by the present height of the rows in those places, and the difficulty of the ascent up those two streets for heavy carriages may be pretty accurately conceived. It is also worthy of remark, in considering this question, that these were the only streets which had an immediate communication with the waters of Dee. The river encompassed the lower parts of both, and either at one or the other, it was of course necessary to land warlike stores, forage and provisions, or other heavy materials from the vessels coming thither, requisite for the use of the garrison, from whence they had to be conveyed to the camp. In these circumstances, it appears to me, ample reasons are shewn for the necessity of reducing the steep ascents; and although they do not apply to an equal extent with regard to Eastgate-street, yet here the rise was also considerable,

and the refinement of Roman taste would doubtless induce a decision for beauty and uniformity. If there be any correctness in these speculations, it does not appear that gaining new habitations, or the formation of shops on the new level, formed any part of the original Roman plan, but it is probable, that as the city increased in population and prosperity, they were formed from the sides of the wall standing between the rows and the streets.

That this undertaking was performed by the Romans, while they were in possession of the city, may also be argued from its arduousness and extent. The excavations must have been made in all the streets through the solid rock, as is clearly ascertained from the back parts of the shops and warehouses in different parts, particularly in Bridge-street and Watergate-street. The legionaries, from their numbers, leisure, and skill as artificers, seem alone capable of their execution; nor can we fix upon any other period of our history in which it is likely this immense undertaking could be performed. It is well known, that from the time of the evacuation of the island by the Romans, till within a short space of the Norman conquest, denominated the Saxon times, the city was chiefly occupied by the ancient Britons, or Welshmen, and it is hardly to be believed that the inhabitants of those days, but a short remove from barbarism, had either the taste or means of accomplishing so great an effort of labour and genius; much less is it credible, even supposing them to have executed the work, that it was done for the purpose of resisting the hostile attacks of the Welsh, who were chiefly their own countrymen.

There are still greater improbabilities, if we refer the formation of the rows, by cutting through the ascents, to a period subsequent to the conquest. Our old histories abound with various accounts of the state and condition of the public works in the city, even from the time of Hugh Lupus. We have relations, as well as existing documents, to shew by what means the bridge, the cause-

way, the mills, and the walls were either built, or kept in repair, and in what way the funds necessary for these purposes were raised. The institution of our fairs, the erection of many of our public edifices, and the origin of ancient customs and usages, are given with great minuteness. But, with regard to the excavations, inferior in labour and expense only to the building of the walls, no mention whatever is to be found—a circumstance which cannot be satisfactorily accounted for, on the supposition of this great work being performed by our Norman ancestors. To this may be added, that the reason assigned for the rows, namely, the facility of resisting the incursions of the Welsh, has no weight at all in it. For, against this opinion it may be urged, that in none of their attacks upon this city did the Welsh ever force their way within the gates or walls; so that these latter, being proved by experience to be a sufficient bulwark against these marauders, there existed no necessity for the erection of any other defences. Nor is there any better foundation for another cause that has been assigned for them, which is, that they were erected with a view to the accommodation of the citizens and traders, by sheltering them and their goods from the summer's heat and winter's storm, at a period when the streets beneath were yet unpaved, and retail shops unknown. This is truly puerile, for the same causes would produce the same inconveniences in every town throughout the kingdom, whereas, Chester is the only place where similar constructions have been adopted for removing these supposed evils.

Upon this subject I shall add no more, except to observe, that the fact stated above, that the Roman soldiers were employed on the public works while resident in the city, is corroborated by an inscription on an altar found the 25th of May, 1748, in a garden belonging to Mr. Kenrick, on the banks of the Dee; it was subsequently in possession of the late Mr. Ogden, and fixed at the end of his garden-wall in John-street, and is now preserved in the chapter-house of the Cathedral. The inscription,

cut on the upper part of the altar, which stands about two feet high, is as follows :—



In a MS. now in my possession, formerly belonging to Mr. Ogden, of Chester, I find transcribed the following opinion on this inscription, delivered to the society of antiquaries at London, by the learned John Ward, Regius Professor at Gresham College :—"This fragment is too imperfect to express the design of the inscription, of which it is only a part. The legion *Vicessima Valens Victrix* was stationed at Chester, and this cohort doubtless belonged to that legion ; and the inscription refers to *some work erected at Chester by this cohort* ; but as a centurion never commanded a whole cohort, I presume the word *Cura* may be wanting after Maximj, to intimate that the work performed by the cohort, was done by his care, and under his direction. I have not elsewhere met with the name of *Ocratus*, but it is common to find in inscriptions names not mentioned in any other place, and *Maximus* very often occurs as a cognomen." This altar is supposed to have once stood on some part of the city walls, to indicate that the cohort appointed to build them, had accomplished thus far of the portion of their work. A late writer interprets the characters thus :—"The century of the first cohort, commanded by *Ocratius Maximus*, performed 1000 paces (a Roman mile) of this road."

In closing my observations on the first origin of the rows, and the reasons which led to their formation, I cannot but express my surprise that our Chester historians have paid so little regard to the subject. I have adduced several grounds which have led me to the conclusion, that we owe their existence to Roman art and industry ; I trust, however, I have given my reasons with becoming modesty, as I am willing to admit, a doubtful historical fact is neither proved nor advanced by dogmatical peremptoriness.

Perambulation of the City.

DESCRIPTION.

THE comforts and pleasures of the traveller, who has a long course of country to traverse, is materially promoted by the excellence of the road he pursues, and the variety of the objects that surround him. But if the same unbroken evenness of his course, and the like unvaried prospects are continued for a considerable distance, or to any great length of time, what were thought, and what really were beauties, lose their charms, and the mind instinctively sighs for a change of scene. At one time we are delighted with the verdure of a luxuriant champaign country, spreading its capacious level to the foot of some distant mountain, or terminating in a scarcely perceptible view of the remote ocean; now we seek with avidity the gently sloping hill, its sides presenting a variety of flowers that emulate all the glowing colours of the rainbow; and anon we are captivated with the fine fruitful valley, whose rich autumnal produce moves undulatory to the passing breeze; nor could any or all these exquisite scenes of rural beauty fix our admiration long, if our curiosity remained ungratified with the sight of some subterraneous cavern, or tremendous cataract, which we knew to be within the compass of our observation.

Such is the ardour of the human mind for novelty and variety in the general pursuits of life. Nor are our propensities for change confined to corporeal things; the mental and intellectual faculties are frequently sated by changeless pursuits, and seek for relief in a succession of objects, even if they be of a less pleasing aspect than their predecessors. Thus, in reading a book, whose subject is dry, and will admit of but little diversity, the mind becomes weary, and sinks into a state of lassitude, hardly to

be prevented by the most lively vivacity in the composition; whereas in works where variety abounds, if one subject displeases, the reader may turn to another more accordant with his taste; and although a good style is no small recommendation in all kinds of writing, yet where this exists but in mediocrity, the former will never fail to be considered as a redeeming quality.

My reader will now begin to suspect, that these preliminary observations are intended as recommendatory of the author's book; and if this is allowed to be the fact, he assumes but little credit to himself, as the excellencies he commends are ascribable rather to the *variety* of his subjects, than to the *manner* of their execution. It is a fortunate circumstance for him, that he is able to shelter his imperfections beneath this advantage; and he presumes to hope, that a dry dissertation on the origin of the rows, will be relieved by a descriptive delineation of the different parts of the city.

As an introductory preface to this part of my task, I shall present the reader with two documents, copied from the records of the corporation, which are not destitute of interest. The first defines the ancient boundaries of the liberties of the city. It may here be remarked, that these boundaries were first prescribed by Edward, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, son of Edw. III. but the document here introduced, bears the date of 1539, and is preferred to the former, as being more copious, and better understood. The second article is a minute analysis of the names of the streets, lanes, &c. of the city, as they were known in the time of Edw. III. and may be serviceable in assisting the reader to form a pretty accurate idea of Chester in the 13th century. They are both subjoined:

THE BOUNDARIES.

"The meares and bounds of the circuit of the liberties of the city of Chester, newly viewed by Hen. Gee, mayor of the same city, by the advice and consent of his most ancient and discreet brethren, in the second time of his mayoralty, and as the same now be known and called.

“Ano. 31, H. 8. 1539.

“That is to wit, from the Iron Bridge to Claverton highway, and so over the said way to a certain sicke, which goeth thro’ the meadows of a green croft of our Sovereign Lord the King, late of the monastery of the Nuns of the city of Chester, and now in the holding and occupation of one Matthew Ellis, and so extending by a certain sicke or ditch called the Mire Dyche, and other waste called the Gray Dyche, being between our Sovereign Lord the King’s lands, late of the monastery of the Nuns aforesaid upon the north part, and the lands of William Lorrenson of the south part, and this is the east end of the said gray ditch, and at the west end thence following the same ditch lyeth between Peers Dutton’s lands of the north part, and our said Sovereign Lord the King’s lands of the late Nuns aforesaid upon the south part; and so from thence straight over Broomfield highway, unto a certain close in the lordship of the Lache, now our said Sovereign Lord the King’s, and so following there a like gray ditch unto the west part of a field called Swartyne field, and then follow the said ditch northward till you come to the Earl of Oxford’s land, sometime the land of Robert Bradford, and then follow another like ditch westward, lying between the said earl’s lands on the north part, and over our said Sovereign the King’s lands on the south part, and following along the same ditch between our said Sovereign’s lands and the said earl’s lands unto you come to a ditch, in old time called a syche, which syche and ditch goeth northward unto Kynarton lane, the way from Chester, and upon the east part of the same syche or dyche lyeth the said Earl of Oxford’s lands, and upon the west part of the said ditch or syche lyeth our said Sovereign Lord the King’s lands, and over that way westward follow a lane through the town of Lache, between our said Sovereign Lord the King’s lands, late of the Nuns aforesaid, lying on the west part, and the said earl’s lands lying on the east part, and so follow the same lane till you come to the Lane Pool in Saltney, otherwise called Blake Pool, and so in following the same pool till you

come to a place where a pair of gallos standeth, which place is now called Gallos-pool, and so follow the same pool to you come to the river of Dee, and so on the river of Dee to Pool-bridge, which is now called Port-poole, and so follow that river to a stone bridge being in Mollington highway, and from thence up a little syche or river unto Bache Pool, and from thence up a little syche or river, called Newton Brook, and so follow the same syche or river unto Flookersbrook, unto a place called Bispaditch, between the lands of the King's College of Saint Werburgh's of the city of Chester, on the south-east part, and the Spittal field upon the north-west part, and so follow that ditch southward to the highway from Tarvin unto you come to a certain ditch of the east part of the chappel of Boughton, and so follow that ditch unto a highway that leads from Chester towards Tarporley, and so over that highway to Amourstone Lenny, the lepor's houses on the west part, unto the holyway that leads unto Butterbeach, under the hill of the water of Dee, and so in following the river of that water unto Huntindon Wood, and from thence unto the Iron Bridge aforesaid."

STREETS AND LANES.

"Hereafter followeth the names of all the streets and lanes within the city of Chester, and suburbs of the same, as they were named in the days of King Edw. the 3rd, and afore by the Recorder thereof in writing in a table, and copied herein by the commandment of the worshipful Richard Dutton, mayor of the said city.

"In EASTGATE-STREET—On the north side of the said street is a lane that goeth out of the said street by the messuage side, late William Stanmer, and so into the church yard of Saint Oswald's, called Peen-lane, and

beneath it upon the same side near the Eastgate, is a lane called Saint Goddestall-lane, and so goeth out of the said street into the said church yard. This Goddestall lyeth burried within the Abbey church in Chester, and he was an emperor, and a virtuous disposed man in his language, and his lane lieth between the messuage some times of R. Chamberlain, and the messuage late in the holding of Wm. Humphrey, and upon the side near the Eastgate there is a lane called Saint Werburgh's-lane, and it shouteth into the aforesaid church yard, and over a veudes this lane, on the other side is a lane called Fleshmonger's-lane, and it putteth upon Pepper-street.

“In FOREGATE-STREET—There is a lane upon the north-side sometime called Cooles-lane, and now called Cow-lane, and it stretcheth in Henwalde's-low; and near the barrs upon the south side there is a lane named Love-lane, and it putteth upon Barker's-lane, that goeth eastward into the fields, and without the Barrs there is a gate that goeth down to the water of Dee, that is named Paynes-loode, and upon the other side of the said street, more eastward is a lane called Chester-lane, and it putteth upon Henwalde's-low.

“In ST. JOHN'S-STREET is Saint John's-lane that goeth out of this street towards the church and college, and from it at the Cornhill of the mansion place of the petite Chanon, there is a lane after the wall of the church yard, and it is named Vicar's-lane, and it putteth upon Barker's-lane and Love-lane, and at the end of this street there goeth a way down to the water of Dee, and this said way is named the Souter's-loode.

“In WATERGATE-STREET upon the north side of the said street, next to the church of Saint Peter's is a lane named Gos-lane, and upon the same side more westerly, next to the mansion place, is a lane named Gerrard's-lane, and it putteth upon the Parson's-lane, and at the east end of the Trinity church is a lane named

the Trinity-lane, and upon the other side anends that lane is a lane named Alban-lane, and it putteth upon Foster's-lane.

"BERWARD-STREET beginneth at the Gray Friars gate, and putteth upon Barne-lane, and out of this street there went a lane to Saint Todde church, called Saint Chadde-lane, and from the said church there went a way to the walls of the said city, called Dogge-lane.

"SAINT NICHOLAS-STREET beginneth at Watergate, and putteth upon the Nun's-hall, and on the lane before the Nuns, called the Nun's-lane, which lane putteth upon the Castle-lane, and out of this street goeth a way to the walls of the said city, and it is called Arderne-lane, lying upon the north side of the said Nuns.

"PEPPER-STREET goeth out of Bridge-street, upon the south side of the church of Saint Michael, and putteth over Fleshmonger's-lane to Wolfield-gate, in the walls of the said city, the which gate some time had a hollo grate with a bridge, putteth upon Souter's-loode, and up Saint John-street and Saint John's-lane; this gate was closed up, for so much as a young man in the summer season take a mayres daughter haire out of Pepper-street, as she was playing at the hall amongst other maidens, and youd with her away, and after he married the same maid.

"In BRIDGE-STREET—Upon the west side is a lane that is named of old time Norman's-lane, and now it is named the Common-hall-lane, and putteth upon Alban-lane, and upon the same side more south is a lane called Perpoint-lane, that was the way some time to the common hall, and more southerly this lane there is another lane called Fustard's-lane, and we now call it the White-friars'-lane, and it putteth upon Saint Nicholas-street, and beneath it upon the same side is Cuppin-lane, and it putteth upon Nun's-lane, and beneath this said Cuppin-lane, more southerly, is the Castle-lane, and out

of it goeth a lane towards Saint Mary's church, called Saint-Mary-lane, and anends the said Castle-lane end, and upon the east side of the said street is Saint-Ola's-lane, and beneath it upon the same side is Clayton-lane, and it putteth upon the walls of the said city, and anends this said Clayton-lane, upon the west end there was a way for horse and man that went to a gate in the walls of the said city, the which was called Ship-gate, and anends this gate before the bridge was made, there was a ferry boat that brought both horse and man over Dee, and out of the said Cuppin's-lane goeth Bunce-lane, and it putteth upon the Castle-lane.

"In NORTHGATE-STREET there is a lane afore the gates of the abbey that is called the Parson's-lane, and it putteth upon Berward-street, and upon the same side near the Northgate, is a lane called Barne-lane, and it putteth upon Berward-street, and out of it goeth a lane towards the walls, and it is named Oxe-lane, and from it towards the North, is called Bagge-lane, and without the said Northgate, upon the east side the lane that is besides the little Kelbre, and goeth northward towards the windmill, that way is called the Sandye-way, and without the said Northgate, there is one way that goeth towards the Bache, and it is called the Bache-way, and there is another way that goeth towards the Portpool, and it is called Pool-way."*

In the descriptive account of the city, it is my purpose, in the first instance, to lead my reader through the

* In tracing the ancient bounderies of the city, and enumerating the names of its streets and lanes, it may not be amiss to observe, that according to a division of wards, which took place in 1533, they were then fifteen in number; viz. Eastgate, St. Oswald's, Corn-market, North-gate, St. Thomas, St. Peter, St. Bridget, St. Michael, Beast-market, St. Mary, St. Olave, St. Giles, St. John, St. Martin, and the Holy Trinity. The three last had two

four principal streets, noticing all the lesser ones branching from them, as they occur in the itinerary, and preserving the order of east, west, north, and south. It may be necessary to premise, however, that although in noticing objects worthy of attention, the situation of the churches, dissenting places of worship, and other public buildings, will be slightly marked, yet their more formal history will be reserved to future, separate and distinct heads of discussion.

Within the walls, the city, as before observed, is subdivided by four principal streets, drawn from the gates, and intersecting at right angles at St. Peter's church. Immediately in front of this edifice formerly stood the **HIGH CROSS**,* which was pulled down and defaced by the Parliamentarians, when they obtained possession of the city in 1646. Its precise site is marked in the wood engraving of St. Peter's church, where the base is represented remaining on the steps of the porch. The cross itself is delineated rudely in Randal Holme's collections, Harl. MSS. 2073, of which the representation following is a reduced fac-simile. The upper portion of this remain of the olden times, which surmounts the plain upright shaft, is still preserved in the grounds of the beautiful villa of

constables each, the others, only one. The wards of St. Peter, the Corn-markets, and the Beast-market, have been incorporated with some of the others.

* This was formerly the scene of the civic entertainments of our ancestors; here the old plays were enacted, and here, in later times, his worship the mayor, and his worthy brethren the aldermen attended, to witness the *diversion* of the bull-ring. It was also not unfrequently the arena of popular quarrels, a notice of one of which is recorded by the first Randal Holmes, in the following terms:—"According to the usual custom of the mayor's farewell out of office, it chanced a contention fell out betwixt the butchers and the bakers of the cittye about their dogges then fyghtynge: they fell to blows, and in the tumult manyc people woulde not be pacyfyed, so that the maior, seeing there was great abuse, being cityzens, could not forbear, but he in person himself went out amongst them to have the peace kept; but they in their rage, lyke rude and unbroken fellowes, did lyttill regarde himm. In the ende they parted, and the begynners of the sayd brawle being found out and examined, were committed to the Northgate. The *mayor smote freely* amongst them, and he *broke his white staff*; and the cryer, Thomas Knowsley, broke his mace, and the brawl ended. This took place on the 2nd October, 1619."

Sir John Cotgreave, of Netherlegh, near this city, though some of the carved figures are a good deal defaced.



Near to this spot is the junction of the four streets ; and before we enter upon our perambulation, it may not be amiss to offer a conjecture on the former occupation of this site, and its immediate contiguity in ancient days.

Mr. Pennant's speculation and reasoning on this point seems to be well-founded, and I shall therefore state them in his own language.

"I imagine, (says he) that this building, St. Peter's church, and a few houses to the north and west, occupy the site of the *Roman Prætorium*; for they not only fill the very situation of that part of the old castrametations, but account for the discontinuance of the Bridge-street, which ceases opposite to these edifices. This also is the cause why the nearer part of the Northgate-street is thrown out of its course, and falls into Eastgate-street many yards below the mouth of the Bridge-street; for the lower part of the Northgate-street, where the Exchange and shambles stand, points directly towards the former; but is interrupted by the space occupied by these buildings. The limit of the *Prætorium* on the east, was the narrow portion of Northgate-street; on the south, part of the present Bridge, Eastgate, and Watergate-streets; on the west, Goss-lane; and on the north, the space now occupied by the fish-market. The *Prætorium*, with its attendants, demanded no small space; for, besides the spot possessed by the general, were the apartments of the *imperatoris contubernales*, or the young nobility under his care; the *augurale*, where prayers, sacrifices, and other religious rites were performed, might have stood on the site of the modern church; and the general might have had his tribunal on the very spot where the worshipful corporation at present sit for the redress of grievances."*

Adjoining the south-side of St. Peter's church stood the old Pentice, where the magistrates performed their judicial duties, where the sheriffs sat to determine civil causes, and where the town-office was kept, until the year 1803, when that building, with the shops underneath, as well as the parsonage-house,† which stood exactly

* At the time Mr. Pennant wrote, the old Pentice was still standing.

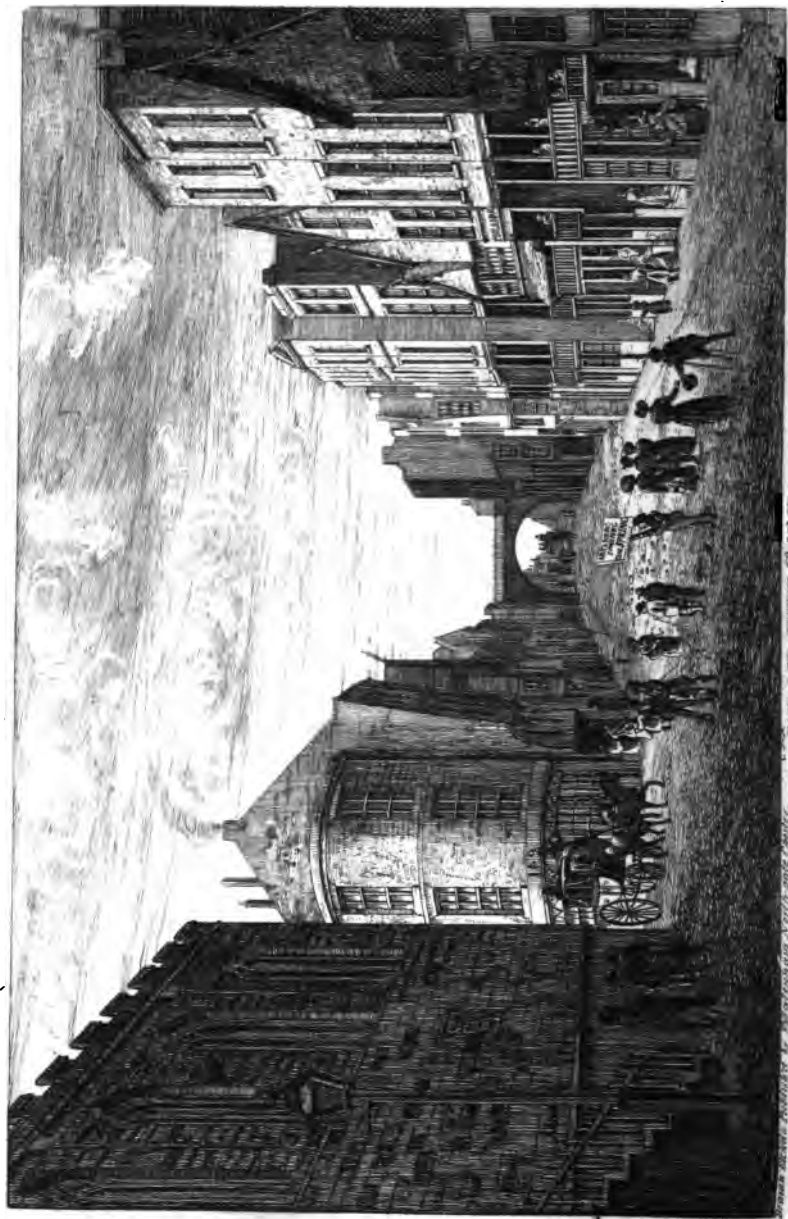
† A sum of money, raised by public subscription, for the purchase of this house, was vested in the funds, for the perpetual payment of £5. per annum to the minister, who still receives that amount yearly.

opposite the Cross, were taken down, for the purpose of widening the road into Northgate and Watergate-streets, at that time extremely narrow and dangerous. For a more accurate idea of this edifice, the reader is again referred to the wood engraving of St. Peter's church (in the Parochial History) as delineated by one of the Randal Holmes, soon after the siege of Chester. Mention is made of the north side of the Pentice having been built in 1497. At the time of removing these inconveniently situated buildings, the bench of magistracy was removed to much more commodious apartments in the Exchange.

At the corner of the east of Bridge-street, and the west of Eastgate-street, and near to the Cross, there was formerly a small stone building, forming a basin at the top, called the *conduit*, to which water was formerly brought into the city from St. Giles's well at Boughton, and thence conveyed to different parts of the city. This conduit was built about the year 1584, which may be collected from the following extract from King's Vale Royal, part ii. p. 202,—203.—“ In 1573, Richard Dutton, then mayor, made an agreement with Peter Morris, for making a conduit from St. Giles's-well at Spital Boughton, to the Cross at St. Bride's church, but this seems not to have taken effect: in 1583, William Styles, being mayor, an agreement was made by John Sanderson for a conduit from Boughton to the *High Cross*; and in 1584, another agreement was made by Robert Brerewood, then mayor, for making a *stone-house* at the High Cross, for the cistern.” This conduit continued to be used for its original purpose many years after the water-works were removed to the bridge; but in 1671, I perceive in the corporation books an order of assembly “for the removal of the water conduit from the *corner-house* at the Cross, to opposite the Abbey-court.”* We are assured, that upon some extraordinary festive occasions, this reservoir has been charged with excellent port wine, and plentifully emitted into the mouths of such of the

* For more detailed particulars, see Chester Water-works.





gaping multitude as had the *taste* to attend, and were fortunate enough to receive it. On the site of this structure, but thrown back several feet from the street, there stands a small circular brick building, the lower part occupied by a tin-man, and the upper portion, opening into the row, by a hair-dresser and perfumer.

Adjoining to the conduit, formerly stood that terror to evil-doers, denominated the *pillory*, which thirty years ago had there its permanent station ; but this *ornamental embellishment* was removed at the time when the street was enlarged by the taking down of the Pentice. In compliment to the *morality* of the citizens, or the *good taste* of the magistrates, however, it may be mentioned, that for thirty years before its being taken away, only one or two persons were *ambitious* enough to aspire to so *eminent an honour*, and not more than three or four from the commencement of the last century. Close to this *spot* was also stationed a twin-implement, not much more respected, the *Stocks*, where many a sabbath-breaking tippler and other minor offender, have passed an uneasy hour, pointed at by the unmoving finger of derision.

The EASTGATE-STREET from the Cross is tolerably wide, and forms a direct line to the East-gate, being somewhat more than 200 yards in length. In general, the view eastward, which extends considerably beyond the gate, is pleasingly interesting, and several late erections, are of a very respectable character. There are about half a dozen old houses on the north side of the street, forming the front of Pepper-alley, which over-hang their base, and moreover project three or four yards further into the street than the shops and houses lower down. If the necessities or the parsimony of the owners of these premises, however, will not allow of their removal, it may be expected, that ere long the all-destroying hand of Time will accomplish this desirable object. Below these, on this side, the houses and shops are pretty regular and well-built ; but on the south side, new-built dwellings are so intermixed with old ones, as to give the street a motley and grotesque appearance. There is, for instance, the

superb house of Messrs. Brown's, already alluded to, stuccoed in imitation of stone, standing on huge massive pillars, projecting into the street, its roof towering above its more humble neighbours; this demi-palace being adjoined in the street on one side by a small *chandler's*, and on the other, a *butcher's shop*. The association of ideas created by a view of these disparities, suggests the picture of a brace of country clowns, in tattered habiliments, linked under each arm of a *dusking exquisite* of the nineteenth century—or, if the hyperbole be too strong, of a splendid family mansion, flanked by a couple of mud wall cow-houses.

About two-thirds down the street on the right, is Newgate-street,* communicating in a strait line at its extremity with Park-street; on the west with Pepper-street; and on the east, with John-street, and John's church-yard, to which there is a passage under a fine arch under the walls, called the New-gate, which has been before noticed, in the circuit of the walls. There are some tolerably good houses in Newgate-street, one of the most considerable of which is occupied by the dowager lady Farmer, though the street is neither entitled to the praise of beauty or elegance; it is a remarkably dull and heavy part of the city, very little used as a thoroughfare, and without any kind of trading concerns, if we except that the Chester Courant newspaper was established early in the last century here, and is here still published; and that a considerable distillery is carried on in this street by William Cross, Esq.

This is the only opening which leads out of Eastgate-street southward; on the north, and nearly opposite Newgate-street, is another, which was formerly known as Werburgh's-lane, but has lately been raised to the eminence of a *street* † it leads up to the cathedral, the old

* Old Webb says, that in his time, this street bore the appellation of "*Fleishmenger's-lane*"; the name of it without doubt rising at first either from the dwellings, or else from the shops of that necessary trade of victuallers of the city."

† Some few years ago, our police commissioners, whose paucity of means for public improvement is greatly to be regretted, supplied their want of

linen-hall, and for foot passengers is a convenient thorough-fare into Northgate-street; though for carts and carriages, it is narrow and incommodious. At the top of this lane, or street, on the west side of the cathedral there is a huge mass of old building, occupied as work-shops and warehouses; and still nearer to Northgate-street, the old linen-hall, in a state of dilapidation, used for similar purposes. The whole of this property belongs to the Dean and Chapter, from whom it is held in leases by different individuals. Of this ecclesiastical corporation, whose possessions in houses and lands are very extensive, and spread themselves almost in every direction in and around the city, I am disposed to speak with the utmost respect: its property generally is said to be held on moderate terms; its members, to the utmost of their power, have uniformly manifested a disposition to aid the public convenience; nor have I ever heard a complaint uttered against the non-fulfilment of their engagements, either in the letter or spirit. Yet still, I consider their possession of this property, or rather, the constitution by which the corporation is established; as a very material injury to the interests of the city. The Dean and Chapter are restricted from alienating any of the property vested in them, which of course operates against improvements; for it can never be expected that individuals will venture an outlay of great sums of money, on a tenure which is necessarily limited as to time, or dependent on contingencies. The large tract of ground, of which I am now more immediately speaking, occupied principally by deformed masses of unseemly buildings, is in the centre of the city, admitting only narrow and confined passages on

power, to render the city *actually* magnificent, by giving it an *artificial* grandeur; that is, they converted all our little close passages, alleys, and entries into more *dignified* appellations, and I doubt whether they have left us a single *lane* in the city, except *Dee-Lane*. A *street* is now amongst the lowest order of description; whilst we abound in *places* connected with some exalted name, *walks, squares, terraces*, &c. &c. This is at any rate a proof of the march of refinement in our commissioners, and may impart to strangers an idea of ours being a "city of palaces;" but I much question whether the change will supply any additional notion of grandeur to the natives.—"A rose, by any other name, would smell as sweet."

the south and west side of our fine cathedral, which is thus almost entirely hid from observation. Were these shapeless fabrics removed, and three or four houses in front of Northgate-street, which also belong to the Dean and Chapter, taken down, a fine space would be opened for the erection of an elegant street running directly east from opposite the fish-market nearly to the iron railing bounding St. Oswald's church-yard. Such an improvement as this would essentially add to the beauty and convenience of this part of the city; nor can it reasonably be doubted, that in a pecuniary point of view it would be highly advantageous to the undertakers. The density of buildings within the walls, and especially in those parts considered eligibly situated for trade, almost precludes an increase of good retail shops; while our dwelling-houses and population are rapidly augmenting without the walls, and in the suburbs. The situation now suggested, standing, as before remarked, in the very centre and most bustling part of the city, would tend, in some degree at least, to remove the inconvenience, and present an advantageous opening to many of our respectable tradesmen. So long, however, as the Dean and Chapter are restricted from effecting a bona fide transfer of their property, no hopes can be entertained of improvement upon this, or any other portion of it. I am not aware that their restraint from selling can be otherwise removed than by act of parliament; but if that corporation be satisfied that such a power would not only promote the interests of the city, but also produce an increase of revenue to the church, I see no assignable cause why it should not avail itself of legislative authority, and possess itself of the privilege of every private land-owner, that of making his property as productive as he can.

Betwixt Werburgh-street and the Eastgate there are some excellent shops and houses, among which are those of Messrs. Moulson and Cropper, tobacconists, and a very respectable traveller's inn, the Green Dragon; close to the latter is a passage which leads to the Manchester-hall, a poor irregular building, consisting of forty-four shops, which are plentifully stored with Manchester goods by

the manufacturers, during our two great fairs at Midsummer and Michaelmas. There is no other thoroughfare at present from this street, though in ancient times we have an account of two others. This is noticed in that portion of King's Vale Royal, written by Webb, probably about 1620, but even at that period they had been closed up : He says, after noticing Werburgh's-lane, " Our ancient surveyes describe two other lanes, on the same side of Eastgate-street, going towards the foresaid church-yard, one called *Peen-lane*, and the other called *Godstall's-lane*, and they are bounded by the names of the dwellers in the tenements next to them ; which names, together with the lanes themselves, are quite worn out of use, but the places where they were, are now the soyl of other tenements."

I have already hazarded a conjecture, that the former occupied a site near to Mr. Moulson's house, and the latter that of the house next to the Eastgate, with the passage leading to the King's Arms tavern. This tavern, though situated in a dark narrow passage, has for a long series of years been celebrated as the evening resort of many of our most respectable tradesmen ; it was formerly far and near known by the cognomen of *Mother Hall's*, but more recently, by the *Kitchen*. Here the national and city politics are discussed with wonderful sagacity ; and to give greater weight and gravity to their deliberations, the company usually attending there, formed themselves into a *body corporate*, annually choosing their mayor, recorder, town-clerk, aldermen, murengers, leave-lookers, and other city officers, with the same formality and with as much regard to legal forms, as their more ancient prototypes of the Exchange. This custom is preserved to the present day, and a list of the aldermen who have *passed the chair*, with the *official dignitaries*, are carefully preserved in pannels surrounding the *kitchen*. It is hardly necessary to add, that in conformity with the old-fashioned custom of all other corporate bodies, the annual elections, or other civic occasions, are not suffered to pass without a due celebration at the festive board.

Before quitting Eastgate-street, it would be unpardonable to omit the mention of that spacious building,

the Royal Hotel, situated on the south side, between Newgate-street and the East-gate. This is a fine lofty edifice, the front resting on six or eight round stone pillars, betwixt which and the coffee-room there is a cupacious piazza; the front has a commanding appearance, and the capabilities within are fully answerable to its external form without. To the hotel is attached an elegant assembly-room, sixty-eight feet in length, by thirty-four wide, in which, besides balls, large dining parties are frequently accommodated, and it is also often engaged for public concerts, and exhibitions of the higher class; a very superior subscription news-room forms part of this extensive establishment. This hotel owed its origin to electioneering warfare; it was distributed into a number of shares, and built soon after the memorable contest in 1784, by the political friends of Mr. Crewe, in whose possession it remained, with some occasional changes in the proprietary, till 1815, when the whole concern was purchased by the Right Hon. Earl Grosvenor, whose property it now is.

Having already led my reader *over* the East-gate, I must now conduct him *under* it, presenting him at the same time with a view of the old structure, as it appeared before its removal in 1768.*



* For a view of the present gate, see plate opposite page 367; with an account of its erection, &c.

The FOREGATE-STREET opens immediately on passing through the East-gate, which contains a continuous line of buildings on each side, to beyond the Bars, a distance of about half a mile. At a few paces on the left is a commodious gateway leading to the post-office, of which Mr. W. Palin is the post-master; and here also stands the excise-office. A little below on the same side, is Bank-place, a row of small neat cottages, particularly worthy of notice as being the residence of Mr. Richard Llwyd, or as he is generally called, Poet Llwyd, the ingenious author of *Beaumaris Bay*, who is passing the evening of his days in retired tranquillity, and, what is not always the lot of philosophers and poets, in easy independence. Nearly opposite, on the other side of the street, is a pretty stone building, where the respectable banking concern of Messrs. Williams, Hughes, Williams, and Granville, is carried on; this establishment was commenced in 1793; and the present building erected about 1803. Immediately adjoining the bank is John-street, a clean, neat, and commodious street, in which there are many genteel residences, and amongst others, those of the Hon. Edwd. Massy, Mrs. Sloughter, Mr. James Dixon, and Mrs. Freeman. On the west side of this street, there is also a very handsome chapel, with a circular front, occupied by the Wesleyan Methodists, and built in the year 1811. The hand of improvement is particularly observable in this street, which, till about fifteen years ago, was dark, narrow, and incommodious. At the bottom of the street, are the grounds and mansion of Sir John Salusbury; on the right a road leading to Newgate and Pepper-streets; and on the left, Little St. John-street, in which is the elegant residence of George Brooke, Esq.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable portrait I have drawn of John's-street, before the late improvements, it seems to have been considered of some repute in the olden time. I adduce the following quotation from the Vale-Royal, not only because it avers this fact, but as it informs us of the names of several places about this part, unknown at the present day, and contains some pertinent

remarks on the mutations occasioned in cities and towns by the lapse of time. My author says,

“A little without the East-gate, on the south side of that street turneth down a fair street, though our authour's have left it but the name of a *lane*, and called it St. John's-lane, which I had rather describe it in my authour's own words, because I would do antiquity all the right I can. This, lane saith he, goeth out of the Fore-gate-street, towards the church, *where the colledge was*. And in an old written parchment book, called *Sancta Prisca*, being an evidence belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Chester, there is mention made of a street called *Iremonger-street*, in these words: *Intir terram, qui fœit Adæ de Paris, et terram Hospitii Hospitalis Sancti Johannis*; and from that at the corner of the mansion-place of the *Petty-cannons*, there is a lane after the wall of the church-yard, and it is named *the Vickar's-lane*, and it butteth upon Barker's-lane and Love-lane, and at the end of this street there goeth a way down to the water of Dee, which way is called *the Souter's Load*. By this we may see what alterations the time and the changes of the places which were members of those foundations have made both in streets and lanes. For as the severall parts of them have come into the hands and possessions of other owners, they have turned their wayes and lanes; made gardens where there stood houses; planted orchards where were streets, and laid and builded houses, where before were none.”

At the east side on the top of John-street, there is an excellent brick building of large dimensions, the whole of which was formerly occupied as an inn, but is now divided, the two sides into good shops, and the centre still retaining its former appellative, as the *Blossoms inn*. Exactly on the opposite side of the street is another house of entertainment for travellers, of the same respectable grade, called the *Hop-pole*, in the upper part of whose yard, is Mrs. Rutter's carrying warehouse; and within this passage also was printed and published for nearly half a century the *Chester Chronicle*, removed in 1827 to more

conmodious premises in Bridge-street. In the back premises of the Blossoms and Hop-pole, are extensive hop-warehouses, where the wholesale dealers attend at our two principal fairs, for the purpose of vending their commodity.

The next opening presented by Foregate-street is on the north side, named Frodsham-street, formerly called *Cow-lane*, and still more remotely *Cool's-lane*. It is one of the principal entrances into the city from Manchester, Warrington, and Frodsham; the houses are generally of the meanest description; the street narrow, filthy, and inconvenient; and but ill accords with the more distant approach at the beautiful hamlet of Flookersbrook, and the respectable appearance of Brook-street. This street has excellent capabilities of being widened and improved, there being abundance of vacant ground behind, particularly on the east-side, where the houses are most miserable; but as the property has a great number of owners, who are generally in humble circumstances, there is no immediate prospect of any material improvement here. About two-thirds down the street, on the east, there is a dead wall of about thirty yards, which incloses a meeting-house and burying-ground belonging to the *Friends*; immediately beyond which a very good avenue was some years ago opened, with some neat buildings on the left, communicating with Queen-street. Proceeding still further, and on the west side, we meet with the ancient passage, called the *Kale-yards*, recorded in our oldest histories by the same name, and which associates itself with the times when old Lupus swayed the sceptre of our local monarchy. Nearly opposite to the end of the Kale-yards, a good road for carriages has been constructed, which gives a ready access to the north end of Queen-street. A high circular wall bounds this road on the left, which encloses a large piece of ground to the canal side, occupied by Mr. J. Musgrave, as an extensive timber-yard; this spot, where a great deal of trade is carried on, has been dignified by the name of the *Queen's-wharf*, but a

more particular account of the canal, bridge, &c. is reserved to a subsequent part of the work, embracing trade and inland navigation.

In an old plan of Chester, published about the middle of the seventeenth century, I observe, that just beyond the bottom of the Kale-yards, there stood a turnpike, denominated Cow-lane gate. From this station there was a void space, probably extending in front as far as the commencement of Brook-street; to the right, nearly to Queen-street, and the modern Botany-street;* and to the left, taking in the old Gorse-stacks as far as George's-street, which went by the name of *Henwalde's-Lowe*, though I can discover no reason for this designation. All that I have been able further to collect on this point is, that in the early part of the seventeenth century, the horse and cattle fair was kept in this vacant plot of ground, which seems to have been admirably adapted to such a purpose. I have already noticed the large groupe of buildings, and indeed streets, which have of late sprung up on the west side of Brook-street, and the villas leading to Hoole but of the latter something more may hereafter be said.

On both sides the entrance into Frodsham-street from Foregate-street, and still nearer to Queen-street, there are a few specimens of buildings of the sixteenth century, the fronts projecting into the street, and supported by unshapely wooden pillars; and these, with the exception of two erections on the opposite side of the street, are the only remains at present existing of a similar species of building without the walls of the city.

A little below Frodsham-street, on the same side, is a convenient opening, which leads to and exhibits, at the distance of about forty yards, the COMMERCIAL HALL. Besides this approach, which is confined to people on foot, it has also a side entrance for carts and carriages. This hall was erected in the beginning of 1815, and was first opened for the sale of goods on the 5th of July in the

* Before the late transformation of the names of our streets, &c. this collection of houses passed under the ignoble appellation of *Botany-bay*.

same year. It is a quadrangular brick building, with a large area in the centre: it contains 56 single, and 20 double shops; has a commodious flight of steps at each angle leading to the upper and double tier of shops, which are traversed by two covered galleries, supported by strong handsome cast iron pillars. This hall is frequented during the two fairs in July and October, by tradespeople from London, Glasgow, Manchester, Derby, Nottingham, Birmingham, and Sheffield, when goods of every description are exposed to sale by wholesale and retail manufacturers. This hall was erected at the expense of two individuals as a matter of speculation, built by Mr. Lunt, of this city, and executed to the rearing in the short space of five weeks. The two roads to this hall afford peculiar conveniences, the foot passengers having no annoyance from the crowding of carts and carriages.

The UNION HALL stands on the opposite side of the street, a few yards lower down; it is a convenient and regular quadrangular brick building, 160 feet long, and 92 wide, with an area in its centre. This hall was built in 1809, distributed into shares, by the Manchester tradesmen and others attending the fairs, and contains 60 single, and 10 double shops, besides the upper story, which is not divided into shops, but chiefly occupied by the stalls of the Yorkshire clothiers; at the four angles are convenient flights of steps, communicating with every part of the building, and round the upper row of shops a covered gallery, supported by wooden pillars, and affording a shelter from rain to the visitors of the shops below.

By the erection of these two halls, the public convenience, as well as the interests of the proprietors, have been essentially promoted. Prior to their existence, the different articles of manufacture were scattered throughout various parts of the city, the only general mart for miscellaneous goods being the old Linen-hall, near the cathedral, which, besides approaching to a state of ruin, was both inadequate and incommodious. Near to the Union hall, is an excellent traveller's inn, for many years tenanted by the late Mr. George, and now occupied by Mr. Henry.

In proceeding further towards Boughton, on the north side, we approach Queen-street, of modern construction, containing on one side a long range of pretty good dwellings, reaching to the canal, in which line there is an excellent chapel, belonging to the Independents, a respectable body of Christians, and near to it, a neat Catholic chapel, to which adjoins the officiating priest's house. The further end of this street has several excellent buildings, two or three of which, with a commodious building behind, was long celebrated as an excellent classical seminary for youth, under the direction of Mr. Stolterfoth, who still occupies one of those dwellings; the present respectable proprietor of this establishment, who has for many years conducted it, is Mr. Wood. On the west of the street, is Union-walk, an avenue leading to Frodsham-street, and on the east another, named York-street, which opens into Bold-square, of which more anon.

Before quitting this spot, I cannot help offering a remark on an historical fact with which it is associated. From an old plan of Chester now before me, I discover that the *Justing-croft*, where tournaments, justs, and tilting,* were anciently practised, occupied the site of that part of the north of Queen-street bounded by York-street and Union-walk, and extended over the present line of the canal. These exercises, the reliques of the days of chivalry, and probably the latest remains of feudal subjection, have long been discontinued; but in traversing the very soil where these hazardous conflicts for fame and glory have occurred, it is hardly possible

Tournaments were martial exercises frequent in former ages, wherein the combatants fought with blunt weapons, and in great companies; the intent of them was to inure men to the wars.—*Justs* were exercises between martial men and persons of honour, with spears on horseback, and differed from tournaments which were military contentions, and consisted of many men in troops; whereas justs were usually between two men singly. They are mentioned in the statute 24 Henry VIII. c. 13.—*Tilting*. According to law, where one killed another at fighting, by the King's command, the accident was excused, but if such a result should happen without the command of the King, or by parrying with naked swords, covered with buttons at the points, &c. which cannot be used without manifest hazard of life, it was deemed manslaughter.

to detach the mind from associations with the manners and customs of the olden times.

Whatever flourishing accounts our old historians may have given us of the greatness and extent of the city, yet, contrasting the graphic representation just mentioned, with a present actual view, I am led to this conclusion, that the buildings and population have been more than doubled since the middle of the seventeenth century. Perhaps the point we have just been surveying, namely, the upper end of Queen-street, is one of the most advantageous, from which to contemplate this fact. At the period mentioned, the site of the present Brook-street, and what is called *New Town*, which now contains probably not less than five hundred dwellings, was an entirely open country, with hardly a human habitation to give diversity to the prospect. Looking westward to Cow-lane, and eastward to Boughton, those thickly intersecting streets running from Foregate-street to the Canal, in all this intermediate space, which is upwards of half a mile, had no existence; if we except a few inconsiderable houses which might probably be standing in Horn-lane, now called Steam-mill-street, though even that is doubtful. I am quite willing to admit that this section of the city has received more extensive additions than any other individual one, but am decidedly of opinion, the collective increase will justify my position, that more than a moiety both in the number of houses and inhabitants have been given to the city within the last two hundred years.

In returning to Foregate-street, where our principal route still lies, I shall conduct my reader about a hundred yards onward, when, on crossing the road, is Love-street, a lane, says the humorous Cowdroy, celebrated for a manufacture, the *fame* of which has been *puffed* in almost every city and town throughout England and Ireland—the making of *tabacco-pipes*. On one side is a range of miserable cottages, few of which are one remove for convenience or appearance, above an Irish cabin; on the

other side is a high wall, which incloses the garden ground of Col. R. Barnston; at the bottom it forms a passage to St. John's church on the right, and on the left, to an equally miserable spot, called Barker's-lane, and the Adlands.

The mansion of Col. Barnston nearly adjoins the top of the above; it fronts Foregate-street, but stands back about twenty yards, inclosed by an iron gate and lofty pallisading, on each side of which is a heavy-built coach-house, faced with stone. The house is large, and abounds with excellent accommodations; but its external appearance gives the idea of a public hospital, especially when taken in connection with the two adjuncts already mentioned, much resembling porters' lodges. The vaulting and cellaring are particularly extensive, and I am credibly informed there is a greater number of bricks laid beneath the surface of the ground, than is contained in the whole superstructure. Col. Barnston, the proprietor of this mansion is a native of the city, in which he has been almost a constant resident. Early in life, he held the rank of Lieut.-Col. in the Cheshire militia; and on the renewal of the French war in 1803, he received the appointment of Colonel in the Chester local militia, which he held until that corps was broken up. There are few men who have had the good fortune to acquire such universal love and reverence as this individual, and not many who have more richly deserved them. Col. Barnston is the descendant of an ancient family, resident at Churton, in Cheshire, as early as the reign of Richard II. the township of which is his property. In the south window of the church of Farndon, in which parish the township of Churton is situated, are portraits of Captain Barnston, and other officers of King Charles's army, with their coats of arms, executed in 1658. In this church are some memorials of the Barnston family. William Barnston, who died in 1664, "ventured his life and fortune with King Charles I.; he was sent prisoner from Oxford to London, where he continued till he paid his composition for his estate;" his son John, who died before him,

married the sole heiress of Trafford, of Bridge Trafford. There are four achievements hung around the chancel of Farndon church; the first for Roger Barnston, Esq.; the second for the wife of Prebendary Barnston; the third for Prebendary Barnston; the fourth the arms and crest of Robert Barnston, Esq. The present Roger Barnston, Esq. is the principal land-owner in the township of Hapsford; his grandfather acquired his estate in this township by marriage with the heiress of Greig, whose ancestors had also a considerable estate in Elton. He possesses also some estates at Crewe, in Cheshire, and a valuable property at Bagillt, in Flintshire. Colonel Barnston married a sister of Thomas Parker, of Astle, Esq. by whom he has one son and two daughters; the former was married to the eldest daughter of Dr. Thackeray, of Chester, 1825,—issue at present (1830) a son and two daughters.

On the opposite side to Col. Barnston's, the mansion of Mrs. Bold, occupying a receding position of about twenty yards from the front, presents a respectable appearance. This house was built about 1784, and resided in till 1798 by Dr. Haygarth, a name of which Chester ought to be proud, and to which the human family owe incalculable obligations. About the latter period, the doctor removed to Bath, where his mental powers and professional talents continued to be exercised for the good of the world till the close of his valuable life.* The present occupier has a heart to sympathize with, and what is better, a hand ever open and stretched out for the relief of the poor and destitute. And if, in touching upon an amiable trait in this lady's character, I may be allowed a single sentence of digression from the line of narrative, it is to express my conviction, that the city of Chester contains a greater number of individuals characterised for charity and benevolence, than perhaps any other town or city in the empire, of equal population. I never knew a public charity within the city to die for want of pecuniary

* For a biographical sketch of this gentleman, see distinguished natives and residents.

aid, or languish in the absence of it ; nor am I acquainted with an instance, in which individual distress, when its claims were known to be well-founded, that met with cold repulsion.

A few paces below this mansion, a thorough-fare has within these few years been opened, denominated Claremont-walk, leading into Bold-square, and communicating with Queen-street and Seller-street ; and a little below, on the same side, we pass the old-established brewery of the late Alderman Seller, now carried on by his widow. Exactly opposite this brewery, is a large house occupied by John Edwards, Esq. the present proprietor, who on purchasing it about twenty-five years ago, gave it a new brick front from the ground, before which time it had an antique appearance, the first floor resting upon strong wooden pillars, and forming a kind of piazza beneath. About the time of the civil wars, and till nearly the middle of the eighteenth century, this was the residence of Sir John Werden, a name of frequent occurrence in our local history. The house adjoining, late the residence of Mrs. W. Seller, was also open in the same manner, in the lower part, and had a open passage at the end. This family had considerable property in the county, of which Burton-hall, and Stapleford-hall, with adjacent lands, formed a part ; and of this family there are still memorials in the parish church of St. John. The baronetcy became extinct about the year 1750. George Harley Drummond, Esq. is the representative of this family. This old mansion is also worthy of notice, from its having been subsequently the residence of A. Holford, Esq. the last surviving male branch of an ancient Cheshire family, whose widow resides in Nicholas-street, in this city.* The late Colonel Wrench afterwards resided in this house.

* At an early period the family of Holford had acquired large possessions in this county. About the year 1277, a moiety of the manor of Plumley passed in marriage with Jean, daughter of Richard de Leestock, heir to her two brothers, who died without issue, to William de Toft, a younger brother of Roger de Toft, whose posterity settling at Holford (a hamlet in this township) took the name of Holford from the place of their

Again crossing the street, and at a short remove downwards, we meet with Seller-street, built by, and called after the name of the late Alderman Seller. This is a good new street, containing some well-built houses, and erected in 1818-19; from the upper part of which, on the west side, is an avenue opening into Bold-square, comprising twenty-four excellent dwelling-houses, each of them having a little garden-ground in front, inclosed by a neat iron railing.

The site upon which these houses are built, and the area in the centre, stand immediately behind the mansion of Mrs. Bold, and was a large field, formerly the property, and in possession of the late Dr. Haygarth. Mr. Thomas Lunt purchased this house and ground of the doctor in the year 1814, disposing of the former to its present occupier, and converting the latter into the square just mentioned, which is highly ornamental to this part of the city, and affords a comfortable retreat to the man of slender independence, as well as to the tradesman, who is desirous of occasional absence from the bustle and turmoil of business. Seller-street is connected with Egerton-street, which runs down to Brook-street, by a light and elegant cast-iron bridge, thrown across the canal, at an expence of five or six hundred pounds, sustained alone by Mr. Lunt himself. Egerton-street commences immediately after crossing the bridge, and is 350 yards in length,

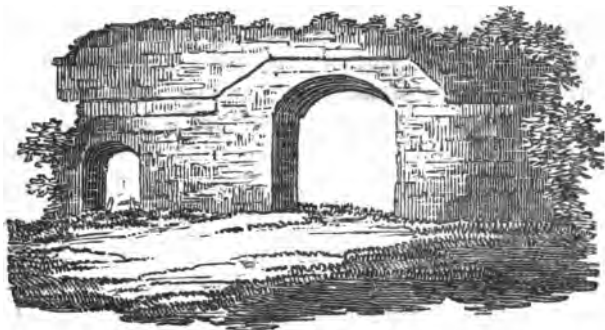
residence; the Holfords possessed this moiety of the manor of Plumley till the death of Christopher Holford, Esq. in 1581, when it passed in marriage with the heiress of that family to the Cholmondeleys. Robert Cholmondeley, Earl of Leinster, bequeathed this estate to his natural son, Thomas Cholmondeley, Esq. whose grandson Robert, having no children, devised it to his wife Jane, afterwards married to Seymour Cholmondeley, Esq. The manors of Plumley and Holford, with Holford-hall, the ancient seat of the Holfords, were purchased in 1791, by the present proprietor, Thomas Langford Brooke, Esq. of Merc, of Thomas Asheton Smith, Esq. to whose grandfather, Thomas Asheton, Esq. they were given by Mrs. Cholmondeley before mentioned. Holford-hall was rebuilt by dame Mary Cholmondeley, (heiress of the Holfords) who resided in it during her widowhood: this lady, in allusion to her spirited law-suit with the Holfords, is said to have been called by King James I. "the bold lady of Cheshire:" the hall is now occupied as a farmhouse.

with a width sufficiently capacious for all the purposes of beauty and convenience. On the right, a good road leads to the lead-works of Messrs. Walker and Co. on the north bank of the canal, and on the left is Foundry-lane, appropriately so called, not only because Mr. Lunt has an iron-foundry at its top, but because there is a similar establishment lower down, carried on by Messrs. Cole, Whittle, and Co. About twenty genteel houses have been built on both sides the street, and on the eastern part of this plot of ground, all the property of Mr. Lunt,* a plan has been marked out for a range of villas, standing a short distance apart, to each of which is apportioned a convenient plot of garden-ground; while from the western line, about the centre, a new street is contemplated, to connect itself with Milton-street. When these projected improvements are completed, this will be one of the most interesting parts of this city.

Returning again to Foregate-street, and crossing to the south side, we approach Dee-lane, in the ancient survey, called *Paynes-loode*, and, by Webb, designated *Peenes-lane*, leading southward towards the river Dee.

* There are few individuals in the city, who have contributed so much to the public improvements and convenience as Mr. Lunt. To him we are wholly indebted for the commodious communication between Foregate-street and Flookersbrook, by the erection of the Union bridge, which before required a circuitous route by Frodsham-street on the one hand, or round by Hoole-lane on the other. I think it a subject of regret, if not an instance of injustice, that Mr. Lunt should have been individually subject to the entire expence of the bridge, while the public, and especially those who had contiguous property and extensive manufactures, were to enjoy its advantages. The plan was projected by Mr. Lunt, in conjunction with the late Alderman Seller, the latter proposing to give a handsome sum, and engaging to promote an extended subscription. Before either of these objects, however, were realized, the worthy alderman, whose public spirit was never called in question, and whose honourable intentions and sincerity are above suspicion, sickened and died; while those on whom reliance for assistance had been placed, declined bearing any portion of the cost. Mr. Lunt is still living amongst us, but as a further development of many instances in his proceedings, which I think entitle him to public gratitude, might savour of personal flattery, I shall desist from eulogy, recording only one single fact, illustrative of his disinterestedness, and that is, that he has made a voluntary relinquishment of his right of the bridge and road in Egerton-street,—the land for which he purchased at an exorbitant price—to the police commissioners, or in other words, to the public.

Immediately before turning down this opening, there is a house adjoining the late Mr. Swetenham's (now Walker's) brewery, occupied by the Misses' Lough, the east end of which shews it to be of high antiquity; and opposite to this house stood a military defence intersecting the whole street, consisting of an arch in the centre, and a postern on the north side, denominated the *Bars*, of which the subjoined cut is a representation, immediately previous to its being taken down as a nuisance in 1770.

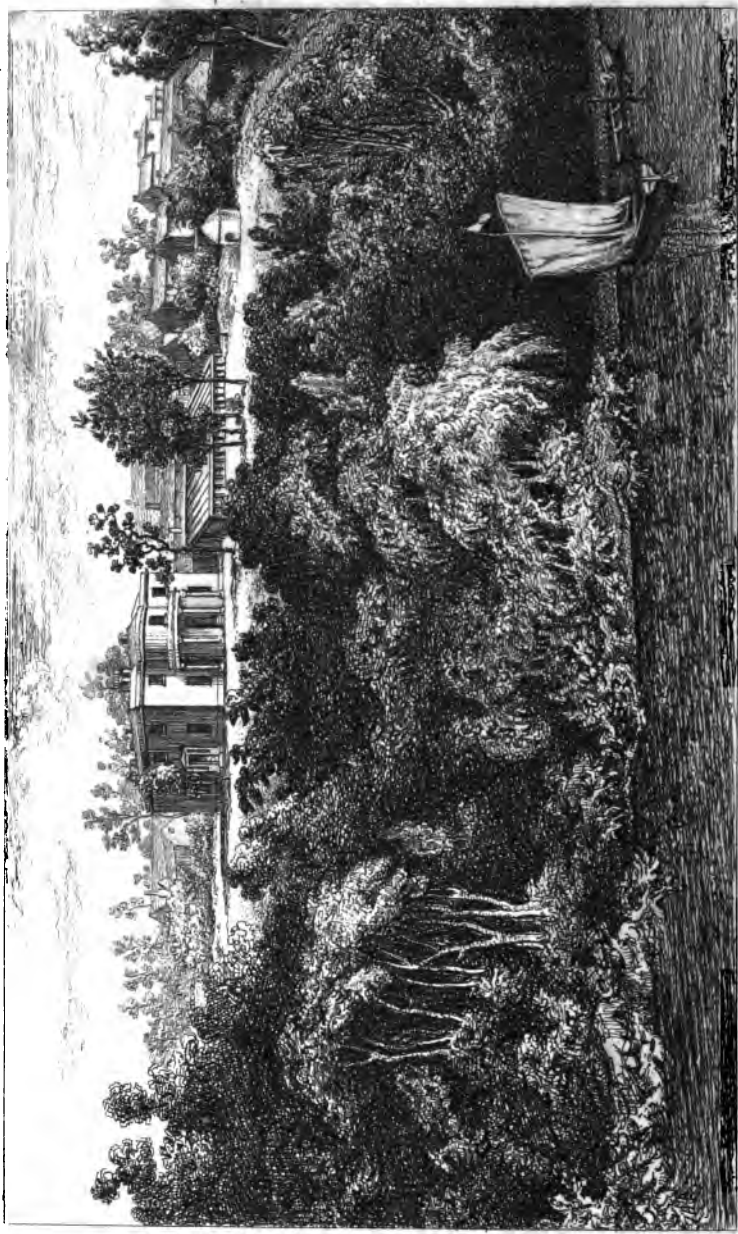


This old construction, which was certainly considered as an out-post for the defence of the city, is generally supposed to have stood outside Dee-lane, but this is a popular error, as is obvious from the ancient plans of the city, as well as from the description of authentic history. The survey in Edward the Third's time, says, "*without the Barrs, there is a gate that goeth down to the water of Dee;*" and Webb also tells us, that "*immediately without the Bars, turns down a lane called Peen's-lane.*" It has been stated, that the outworks raised to resist the parliamentarians at the siege, consisting of a mud wall, fortified with mounts and bastions, took their direction down, and terminated at the bottom of Dee-lane. This is also an erroneous statement. These fortifications intersected the road further in advance towards Boughton, inclosed Horn-lane, and passed to the river, probably through the grounds where the elegant mansion of R. Baxter, Esq. now stands.

The old Wesleyan Methodist chapel, now occupied by a congregation in connection with Lady Huntington's society, is situated on the north-side of the street, a little before reaching the Bars; and thirty or forty paces beyond the latter, is an opening leading to the canal, in the olden time designated Horn-lane, but now called Steam-mill-street. It is said to have received the former appellation, from one or both of its boundary banks having been formed of the hoofs and *horns* of cattle brought there from the various tanneries, with which the neighbourhood abounded; its latter cognomen is derived from a corn-mill, at the top of the street, occupied by the Messrs. Frost's, who have built on the opposite side of the way an extensive warehouse, with which the mill is connected by a stage, thrown across, from the respective upper stories in each building. In the description of the city, in the fourteenth century, this was called *Chester-lane*; and by Webb, somewhat more than two hundred years ago, we have it named *Starre-lane*. The houses in this street are in general small and paltry, and the neighbourhood not of the most reputable description. A small chapel has lately been erected here, used as a place of worship by the Primitive Methodists, more generally known by the appellation of *Ranters*. Nearly opposite the further end of this street, on the other side of the canal, are the lead-works of Messrs. Walker and Co. forming an immense mass of building, in which that extensive establishment is carried on, which, as well as several other public places only just touched upon, *en passant*, will be more minutely noticed in a subsequent part of the work.

The continuous buildings from the Bars, to beyond the turnpike on the Christleton road, is known by the designation of Boughton; but there is nothing worthy of recording in this direct line, until we approach to the road leading into Hoole-lane, unless it be, that two or three narrow streets parallel with Steam-mill-street, have been lately built, consisting of small cottages. It is necessary to remark, however, that in this progress, a





Drawn & Etched by MUSEKOWS

for HENNINGSEN'S, Chester.

Dec Mills. Mr. Capt. of ROB'T BAXTER, ESQ., Brighton, Chester.

line of cottages on the right, conceal from observation one of the most beautiful residences that the city or neighbourhood of Chester can afford; and it cannot but be lamented, that this mansion and the plantation and grounds with which it is environed, should be obscured from the public view. In our late aquatic excursion up the Dee, (see page 380) this house, the property and abode of R. Baxter, Esq. was described as situated upon an elevated ridge of ground, its front overlooking that river, and commanding a luxuriant prospect of the surrounding country. This mansion is built of stone, and was erected in the year 1814, according to a plan, and under the personal superintendence of that able architect, the late Thomas Harrison, Esq. The grounds comprehend an extent of nine acres, tastefully planted, and containing fine gravel walks and avenues; with some admirable hot-houses, producing abundance of luxuriant fruits and flowers. From the public highway, at each extremity of the grounds, there is a circular carriage road, both meeting in the centre; and in front, a third, which leads immediately to the house.

There is an incident connected with this spot which is worthy of particular regard, and which leads to the corroboration and developement of an historical fact, not at all regarded, that I am aware of, by any of our former historians.—In the year 1814, while the labourers of Mr. Baxter were employed in levelling the ground near his house, on the brow of the hill rising from the Dee, a number of earthenware pipes, of a colour approaching to our modern flower-pots, were dug up. They were something more than half a yard in length, round in form, varying in thickness, one end being thinner than the other, as if for the purpose of insertion, and having a bore of about an inch and a half in diameter. They were found from three to four feet from the surface of the ground, and lay in a position lengthway nearly from east to west. Two or three of the pipes were preserved, and are now in the possession of the proprietor of the land, but numbers of them were destroyed, or made use of for indifferent purposes.

The above facts were communicated to the author by Mr. Baxter himself; and on connecting them with others, that have since come to his knowledge, he has little or no hesitation in affirming, that these earthenware tubes had occupied their station for the period of nearly six hundred years, and had originally been laid for the purpose of conveying water from Christleton for the accommodation of the abbot and monks of St. Werburgh's monastery. I think there will be little difficulty in establishing this position; and I shall lay before my readers those grounds upon which the assumption is founded. And in the first instance, I shall quote a passage resting on the authority of the Red Book of St. Werburgh, and the Chartulary, recording a biographical notice of *Simon de Albo Monasterio*, or *Whitchurch*, the 13th abbot of the monastery, who died in the year 1289. The passage has been given before, but I think it best to repeat it here, for the sake of a more satisfactory elucidation:—

“Among the donations by the family of Burnel, was the grant of a fountain at Christleton, which was doubtless of high importance. A cistern twenty feet square was made at Christleton, and another formed within the cloisters, and a communication established by pipes, which a patent from Edward I. enabled the monks to carry through all the intervening lands, permitting even the city walls to be taken down for the purpose.”

Upon inquiry, I find, that in a field on the right hand side of the high-road leading to Christleton, and a very short distance from that village, there is a spring of water, noted for its excellent qualities, and is now inclosed by a stone wall; and what still more strongly corroborates my position is, that it has always gone by the name of *The Abbot's Well*. There is also another fact that well accords with this hypothesis, namely, that in the open area, called the Preese, adjoining the cloisters of the cathedral, there is to this day a kind of sunken cavity, which has always been taken to be a bath belonging to the monastery, but which in fact, is the identical reservoir formed by abbot Simon de Albo Monasterio, for a supply of water to the monastery.

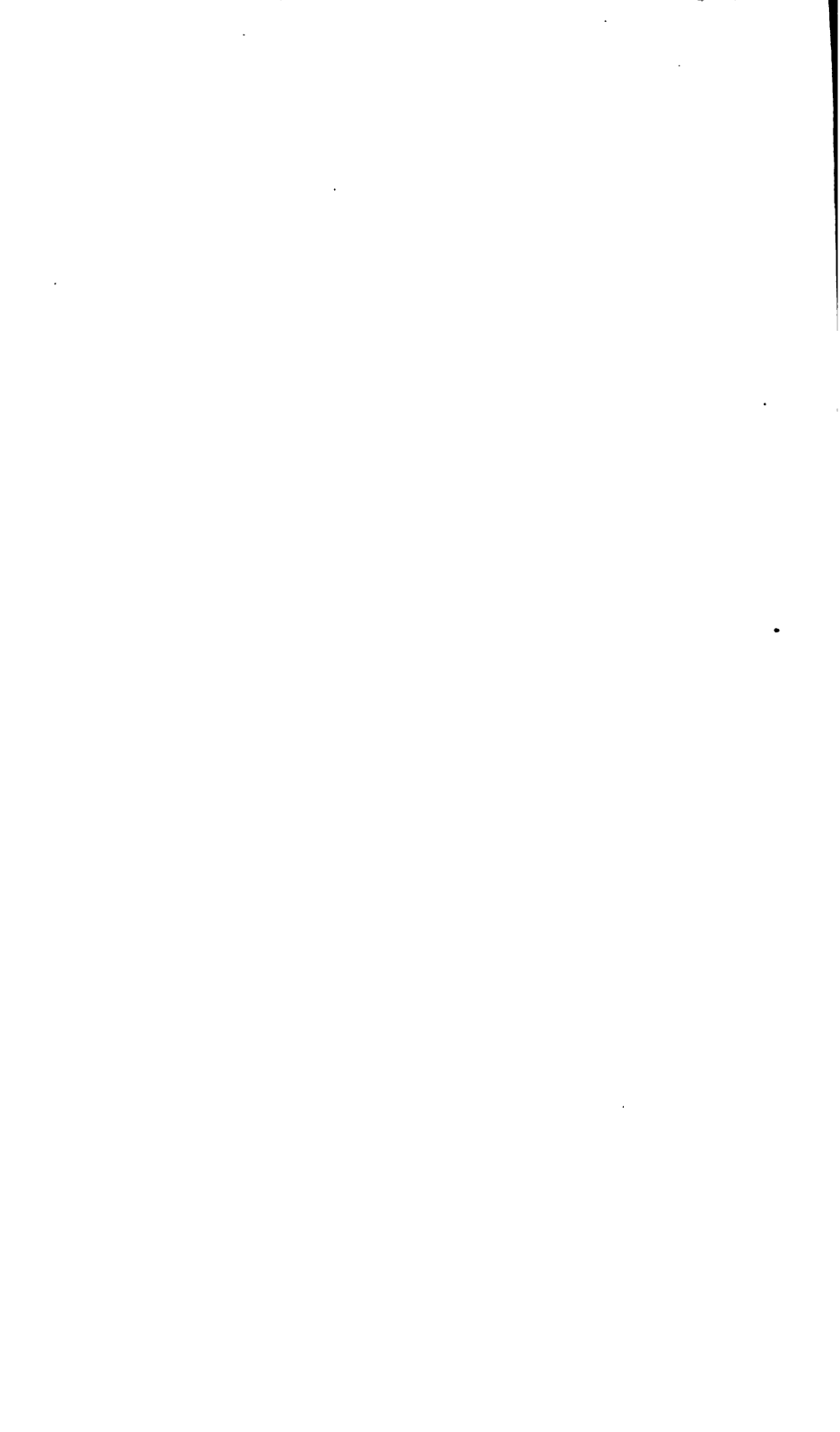
Now we have already seen, that towards the close of the sixteenth century, water was conveyed to the city from Boughton to the conduit at the cross; and the question is, whether the earthen pipes found in Mr. Baxter's grounds were appropriated to this undertaking, or whether they were those laid for conveying that necessary article from the Abbot's Well at Christleton to the Cathedral. I am strongly inclined to the opinion, that they were laid for the latter purpose, first, because the caliber of the bore is inadequate to the supply of the city, though quite sufficient for such a confined community as the monks of the monastery. But secondly, and principally, because it is most likely, if these had been the work of the sixteenth century, the pipes would have been of *wood*, and not of *earthenware*. From the period of the Roman times, the pottery art was extensively cultivated in England, and the pipes, now the subject of inquiry, bear a strong resemblance in colour and texture to the tiles and urns of that people.

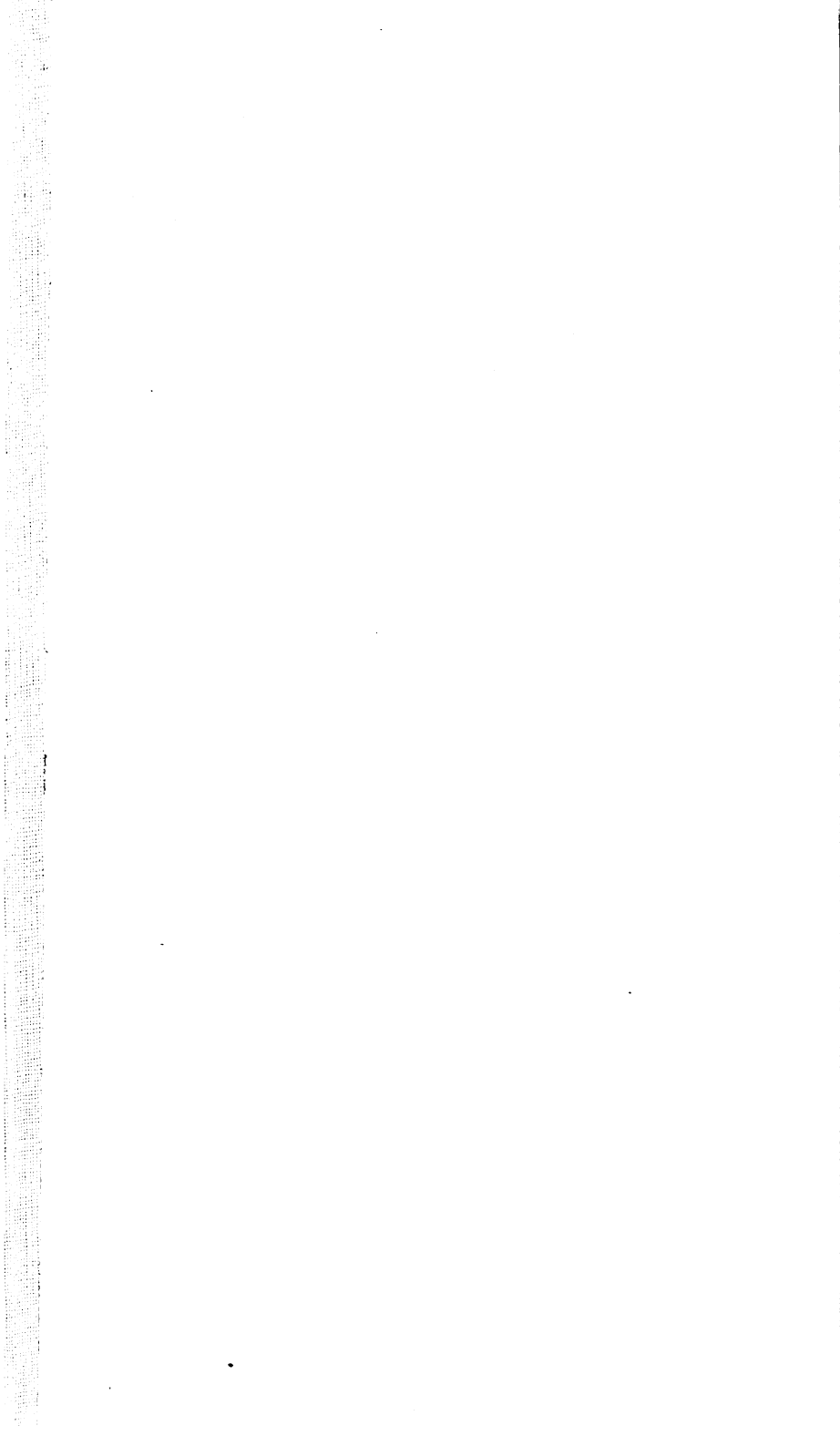
In the absence of the knowledge of some of the above facts, Mr. Pennant, and all our subsequent historians, have been led into error; and in stating the origin of Tyrer's water-works at Boughton, say, that "this work was first begun by the *Black Friars* in the time of Edward I." It will be observed, that while this statement recognizes the existence of a conveyance of water to Chester in the time of Edward I. it confounds the Boughton with Christleton springs, which, from the foregoing historical facts, are obviously separate and distinct. I have taken some pains to illustrate this subject, and see no moral or physical objections to the correctness of the hypothesis that these pipes were laid in the thirteenth century, and were the same that brought the water from Christleton to the monastery.

END OF VOLUME I.

CHESTER :

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